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Malile Visits Turkey, Discusses Relations

Talks in Ankara Reported

AU0302192689 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Talks were held today at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey between Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and Mesut Yilmaz, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Turkey.

During the talks, the two ministers pointed out the importance attached by the two governments to the development of friendly relations between the two countries. They expressed their satisfaction that no difficulties exist in the relations between the two countries, which could hinder, no matter how slightly, the strengthening of friendly cooperation between them.

Comrade Reiz Malile made, on this occasion, an assessment of the visit paid by the Turkish minister of foreign affairs in Albania in August 1988 and stressed that bilateral relations are characterized by pure sentiments of friendship between our two peoples and by the desire and political will of the two governments to further these relations. A number of agreements have been concluded between the two countries in various fields during the past few years. Two other agreements are to be signed now and there is no doubt that other fields of cooperation will emerge in time. These documents [words indistinct]. It is expected that both sides will work intensely to implement them in the most effective way possible.

Both sides expressed their readiness to continue the dialogue and to raise it to the level of political relations, as well as to solidify relations in the fields of the economy, trade, science, technology, and so forth. The level of the delegations visiting each other's country has been raised gradually and conditions have by now been created to exchange high-level visits. As is known, the prime ministers of both countries, Turgut Ozal and Adil Carcani, have invited each other to visit their respective countries.

Both ministers expressed their opinion that the further strengthening of relations and cooperation between Albania and Turkey is not only to their mutual benefit, but is also a factor in the peace and stability in the Balkans and beyond. They exchanged opinions also on some aspects of the current international situation and on developments in Europe, the Mediterranean, and the Middle East, dwelling particularly on the situation in the Balkans. [passage indistinct]

Two major agreements were signed today in Ankara: one pertaining to the field of culture, and an agreement on telecommunications. Another agreement was signed between the respective news agencies.

The cultural agreement between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Republic of Turkey was signed by the respective ministers of foreign affairs, Reiz Malile and Mesut Yilmaz. The agreement stipulates a further extension of exchanges and cooperation in the fields of culture, education, the arts, radio-television, and so forth. According to this agreement, contacts will be increased between the cultural and scientific institutions of both countries.

The agreement on telecommunications was signed by Reiz Malil, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and Prof Dr Ekrem Pakdemirli, minister of communications. The agreement stipulates a further extension of the cooperation between the two countries in postal and telecommunication services. In this context, a joint working group with representatives from both countries, which will meet periodically to review the results attained in implementing the agreement and to define measures for the further intensification of the cooperation in these fields. This agreement also stipulates the introduction of modern methods and equipment in the postal and telecommunications services between the two countries.

An agreement between the ALBANIAN TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY and the ANATOLIA Agency was also signed today by Taqo Zoto, director of ATA and [name indistinct], general director of ANATOLIA AGENCY.

Today, Reiz Malile visited Mehmet Yazar, minister of state, and Ekrem Pakdemirli, minister of communications, with whom he discussed problems of mutual interest.

Turgut Ozal, prime minister of the Republic of Turkey, today received Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. During their discussion, Prime Minister Turgut Ozal expressed his pleasure at the Albanian foreign minister's visit to Turkey, and said it would contribute to the development of friendly relations and cooperation between our two peoples and countries. In particular, Turgut Ozal mentioned the mutual visits by personalities of both countries, stressing that the visits have made a positive contribution in developing relations. Turgut Ozal pointed out that the strengthening of these relations will also be served by the exchange of visits at the level of prime minister. He went on to express friendly and warm sentiments about bilateral relations. The Turkish prime minister also pointed out that numerous people of Albanian descent are living in Turkey and are respected in that country. Reiz Malile pointed out that this fact brings the two peoples together.

Prime Minister Ozal stated that the possibility exists for a further extension of cooperation between the two countries in various fields of mutual interest, as in the economic, cultural, and other fields.

The Albanian foreign minister conveyed Turgut Ozal greetings on behalf of Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Speaking about the achievements in bilateral relations, Reiz Malile stressed that all possibilities exist for their further concrete extension in various fields.

Turgut Ozal asked Reiz Malile to convey his greetings to Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Meets With Turkish President

AU0302211989 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Kenan Evren, president of the Republic of Turkey, today received Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. During the meeting, the Turkish president showed his appreciation for the development of friendly bilateral relations. He pointed out the traditional friendship which, in his opinion, is rooted in the peoples of the two countries. President Evren also stressed that the recent mutual visits by personalities from both countries have been an important contribution in this direction. He also greeted the agreements that have been signed during Reiz Malile's visit to Turkey and stressed that concrete bilateral relations must be promoted and trade increased.

Foreign Minister Malile conveyed to President Kenan Evren greetings on the part of Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Speaking about the achievements that have been made to date in the relations and cooperation between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Republic of Turkey, Reiz Malile expressed the readiness of the Albanian side to further promote these relations with friendly Turkey.

President Kenan Evren asked Foreign Minister Malile to convey his greetings to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and wished the Albanian people further successes in the country's progress.

During the discussion, they also talked about the current situation in the Balkans.

The meeting was also attended by Mesut Yilmaz, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Turkey, and Nesip Kaci, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Ankara. Teoman Surenkok, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey in Tirana, was also present.

Today, Reiz Malile also met with Husnu Dogan, minister of agriculture, forestry, and village affairs.

Holds News Conference

AU0502142289 Tirana ATA in English 0950 GMT 5 Feb 89

["From the Visit of the Albanian Minister of Foreign Affairs Reiz Malile to Turkey"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, February 5 (ATA)—In the context of the official and friendly visit to the Republic of Turkey, the foreign minister, Reiz Malile, went to Istanbul. He is accompanied by the Turkish foreign minister, Mesut Yilmaz, as well as by the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania in Ankara, Nesip Kaci, and by the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey in Tirana, Teoman Surenkok.

At the airport of Ankara, Reiz Malile held a press conference for the reporters of the Turkish various press organs and radio-television. He said among others that the friendly visit in the beautiful and hospitable Turkey gave me the occasion to have contacts and conduct talks with my honoured Turkish colleague, the foreign minister, Mesut Yilmaz. Likewise we had the special honour and satisfaction to be received by the president of the Republic of Turkey, Mr Kenan Evren, and by the prime minister, Turgut Ozal, as well as by other personalities.

In these meetings, the Albanian foreign minister pointed out, the Albanian Government and the Turkish Governemt voiced clearly the desire and pclitical will to promote the fraternal relations and the cooperation between the two countries, especially in the economic, trade, cultural, technical, and scientific fields, etc, where the interests are mutual.

The acquaintance with each other's viewpoints on the most important international political developments was also fruitful, Reiz Malile said, adding that attention was devoted especially to the process of the Balkan cooperation and the need for its further consolidation, considering it as a development that responds not only to the interests of the Balkan peoples, but also to the peace and stability in Europe and Mediterranean.

On my departure, Reiz Malile concluded, I wish to thank wholeheartedly in my name and in the name of my colleagues for the warm reception and the friendly feelings extended to us everywhere in the Turkish capital.

On February 4, the Albanian foreign minister, Reiz Malile, visited various historic and cultural centers of Istanbul. He and the other members of the delegation accompanying him were acquainted with the ancient history and culture of the Anatolian civilisation.

Concludes Visit 5 Feb

AU0502201689 Tirana Domestic Service in Alanian 1900 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has concluded his visit to the Republic of Turkey.

Vahit Bayar, mayor of Istanbul, hosted a dinner yesterday evening in honor of Reiz Malile and attending were Mesut Yilmaz, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Turkey; deputies; businessmen; personalities from public life; and journalists. Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs; Kostandin Hoxha, deputy minister for foreign trade; Nesip Kaci, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Ankara; and Teoman Surenkok, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey in Tirana, were also present.

In his greeting on this occasion, Dahit Beyar, mayor of Istanbul, expressed his appreciation of the ancient friendship between the Turkish and Albanian peoples. This shows, he said, that our two peoples have traditional, historical, and cultural links. There are many Albanians in Istanbul, who live in harmony with the Turkish people, the mayor of Istanbul added later. They are treated like brothers among us. Many Albanians have occupied important posts in Turkey and carried out their duties with honor. Talking about the relations between Turkey and Albania, Dahit Beyar said that there is a healthy basis on which to promote these relations further, both in the political and economic fields.

After expressing thanks for the very warm reception accorded to the Albanian delegation in Ankara and Istanbul, Reiz Malile stressed that, during his visit to friendly Turkey we felt at home and experienced for ourselves the friendship and traditional ties that exist between our two peoples and constitute a secure basis for the constant development of Albanian-Turkish relations. The Albanians who live in Turkey have created warm and fraternal ties with the Turkish people, and these are an important factor of friendship between our two peoples. As soon as we arrived in your lovely country, Reiz Malile pointed out, we were surrounded by fraternal feelings, and deep respect. I wish to assure you that the Albanian people nourish the same feelings for the Turkish people. Deeply touched by your hospitality, the Albanian foreign minister said in conclusion, I wish the fraternal Turkish people from my heart the greatest success in realizing their aspirations for progress, well-being, and prosperity.

Reiz Malile and the persons accompanying him today visited different historical and cultural sites in Istanbul, such as the Topkapi Palace, the Ayasofya Museum, the Dolmabahce Palace, the Blue Mosque, and others which are a living testimony to old Anatolian civilization and are of great artistic importance.

Malile left Turkey today and was seen off at Istanbul's Ataturk Airport by Mesut Yilmaz, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Turkey; Necati Beyliyoglu, deputy mayor of Istanbul, and other personalities from the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Nesip Kaci, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Ankara; Teoman Surenkok, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey in Tirana; and Enver Zeneli, consul-general of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Istanbul, also came to see him off.

Before his departure, Malile said, among other things, that we came with friendly feelings to Turkey and we found these feelings everywhere we went. In Turkey, we were given the opportunity of seeing different historical and cultural sites of particular value. We also, he said, became acquainted with Turkey's modern development in different spheres. Our visit has helped to further strengthen our bilateral relations and opens new horizons for the future. In conclusion, the Albanian foreign minister once again expressed his thanks for the warm hospitality, and wished the Turkish people success in the future.

For his part, Mesut Yilmaz, the Turkish foreign minister, stressed that the Albanian foreign minister's visit to Turkey had been very successful. It will help strengthen still further the friendship between the Turkish and Albanian peoples. The exchange of visits at prime minister level will also help to promote relations between Turkey and Albania. This atmosphere opens prospects for the further development not only of political but economic, cultural, technical, and scientific relations. The Turkish foreign minister wished a safe journey to the Albanian foreign minister, and happiness to the Albanian people.

Institute Director Meets Italy's Andreotti

AU0402171889 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text] Giulio Andreotti, minister of foreign affairs of Italy, yesterday received Prof Sofokli Lazri, director of the Institute of International Relations Studies, who was also received by Renato Ruggiero, minister of foreign trade. During his stay in Rome, Prof Sofokli Lazri had talks with high officials at the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. During these talks, he discussed the progress of bilateral relations, with particular stress on the prospects for the development of economic relations, which both sides intend to intensify.

In this context, they also discussed the Adriatic initiative, which Foreign Affairs Minister Andreotti discussed in Belgrade on 30 January with Yugoslav authorities. The Albanian side expressed its desire for further examination of this initiative. Balkan cooperation was another subject discussed by both sides and was considered as very positive in reducing tension and strengthening stability in an area of special interest for both countries.

Zhivkov Addresses Sports Champions in Sofia

AU0302165889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Feb 89 p 1

[Speech by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, to Bulgarian sports champions of 1988, delivered in the Boyana Residence in Sofia on 31 January]

[Text] Dear sportswomen and sportsmen, comrades, in the name of the Bulgarian party and state leadership I am glad to greet you—Bulgarian sportswomen, sportsmen, trainers, specialists, and sports figures who took part in the 24th Summer Olympic Games in Seoul.

Millions of people throughout the world saw and gave a worthy assessment to your high sporting prowess. In the classification of the 160 participating states you placed your native land in a leading position: fifth place in the unofficial overall classification by nations, and seventh place according to the number of championship titles. This is undoubtedly the supreme peak in the international performances of Bulgarian sports to date.

Your notable success was crowned with a high state and public assessment. The state distinctions that adorn your chests today are an expression of the entire nation's recognition of the many years of persevering and dedicated labor that you invested in your training, and of your self-denial and ambitions in the Olympic sports arenas.

I congratulate you with all my heart and share your joy.

At the same time, I cannot pass over the fact that your successes would ring out even more convincingly had they not been overshadowed by certain acts unworthy of Bulgarian sports.

I believe that you well understand how important and noble the role of the modern Olympic sportsman is. On the sports field one should have feelings of joy and optimism, of human dignity and happiness, and sense physical and intellectual progress. Sportsmen must always and everywhere prove by their deeds that they are consistent, loyal, and sincere supporters of the Olympic movement and its humanitarian ideas.

Comrades, nothing is stronger and more effective than physical culture and sports for strengthening man's health, increasing his vital powers, his capacity for work, and creative capabilities, and shaping and developing the physical and intellectual aspects of the individual. Your successes at the Olympic games and in world and European championships must provide a powerful impetus for systematic and universal development of mass physical culture and mass sports.

Our society has created and will continue to consistently and steadily expand the necessary organizational, material, and resource provisions and conditions for this purpose. Every Bulgarian citizen must have the opportunity to benefit from physical culture and sports, to strengthen and improve himself physically, and to lead a healthy modern way of life. In this way, conditions will also be fully ensured for even more outstanding Bulgarian sports performances on the international sports field.

New views and concepts, new approaches, and specific organizational and methodological work are needed to ensure the mass development of physical culture and sports in Bulgaria.

The solving of this task is a great and noble cause. I am sure that you will be among the first who will engage in its implementation.

Permit me once again to congratulate you most cordially and to wish you good health, lively spirits, and happiness. Our people believe in you and expect new sporting successes and joyful thrills from you.

Atanasov Receives CSSR Deputy Premier

AU0302211389 Sofia BTA in English 2035 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, February 3 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received today Mr Pavel Hrivnak, first deputy premier of the Government of Czechoslovakia and chairman of the State Committee on Techno-Scientific Development and Capital Investments. Mr Hrivnak is chairman of the Czechoslovakian part of the Bulgaro-Czechoslovak Committee for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation.

Information was exchanged on the processes of restructuring under way in the two countries. It was stressed that the company organization of the Bulgarian economy and the important structural changes in the Czechoslovak industry create great possibilities for expansion of bilateral economic cooperation, for deepening of the direct relations between the two countries' enterprises and the setting up of joint stock companies.

Issues of the development of techno-scientific relations between Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia were also discussed.

Mr Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of economy and planning and chairman of the Bulgarian part of the joint committee, was present at the meeting.

Glasnost Reveals Faults in Legal System

AU3101160089 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian No 4, 25 Jan 89 pp 8, 9

[Article by Chanko Apostolov: "Irritation Caused by Glasnost"]

[Text] Glasnost has also entered the territory of the law protection organs. People have started talking openly about judicial errors, about poor work by the investigators, militia officials, public prosecutors, and judges, and

about unjust legal edicts. However, the change is not being welcomed by everyone with enthusiasm. There are some officials in the apparatus of these organs who cannot accept that the problems of their special activity must be discussed publicly. The critical reports and articles arouse their irritation. How on earth can people who are not dressed in the legal man's robes deal with things that they do not understand? If errors exist in the dispensation of justice, then there is an established procedure under which these errors should be eliminated by the appropriate superior authorities. Articles about shortcomings in the work of the courts, the public prosecutor's office, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs have impaired these organs' authority and sown seeds of distrust in their activity. This is why voices have been raised that the mass media should be forbidden to deal with these issues.

Such views, despite the fact that they are encountering strong opposition within legal circles themselves, provide evidence that certain people cannot accept the new lively arguments, and sharp clashes of opinions on this topic are an everyday occurrence. However, this is perfectly normal, because restructuring is upsetting quite a few of our previous ideas.

Until quite recently, it was not the done thing to talk about errors in legislation or about legal norms that obstruct social development, or such topics were discussed only in whispers. Yet now we are arguing about them at the top of our voices. For example, recently in RABOTNICHESKO DELO a public prosecutor from Varna made critical comments regarding the Law on Citizens' Property and the penal code, and expressed his disagreement with the principled standpoint of the Supreme Court. The question suddenly arose on whether it is right for the public prosecutor to publicly criticize the law and an interpretative verdict of the Supreme Court. Is it not harmful for him to state that he experiences feelings of dissatisfaction and pain when he applies an unjust law? Does not he thus encourage the law-breakers?

Such questions are not very easy to answer. However, democratization and the right to hold one's own opinion mean the right to express a viewpoint that differs from the officially adopted one, even when you hold some official post.

The Varna public prosecutor is not using his position to urge people not to submit to the law, but is issuing a warning of the harm caused by the unjust law. However, as long as this law remains in force, it must be implemented, because otherwise anarchy will reign.

The recent amendments of certain laws, the drafts for changing many others, and the prepared legal reform demonstrate that there is nothing to be frightened of when working public prosecutors, judges, lawyers, legal advisers, and arbitrators publicly propose the abolition of normative acts that hinder democratization and the humanitarian approach, because who is more qualified to do this than the specialist who has suffered the painful consequences of the injustice caused by the bad law? Recently the famous Polish professor Eva Lentowska described certain Polish laws of this kind as "stupid" and "useless."

Many lawyers believe with good reason that Article 31 of the Law on Citizens' Property should be amended. According to this article, income obtained by tradesmen working without a permit (unregistered) is confiscated to the benefit of the state. The law-breakers should be fined, but the income earned from their individual labor should not be taken away from them.

There is insufficient justification for the sale of real estate to be carried out through the people's councils at prices fixed by the latter. This procedure, which was introduced to combat speculation, not only restricts the right of property, but also leads to undesirable social consequences. Thousands of properties, including houses, especially in the villages, are standing empty because their owners gain nothing from selling them under the present conditions. At the same time, thousands of citizens are seeking to buy or want to build dwellings and villas, but are unable to do so.

There is also no justification for certain departmental privileges. Examples are the exemption from domestic telephone charges enjoyed by persons with long service in the communications system, and the exemption from radio and television license fees for employees in television and radio. This creates discrimination between citizens. Similar privileges are enjoyed by workers in the transportation system and in other departments. (It is well known that the privileges relating to applications and acceptance at higher educational establishments were abolished, and this met with universal approval.)

Are there not also restrictions and discrimination regarding residence in Sofia and the large cities? The relevant decree calls these restrictions "temporary," but they have now been in force for several decades. How are the citizens who are entitled to reside in these towns better than the other citizens of our state? Lifting the ban would create many complications regarding housing, transportation, work, and so on. True, but gradually everything will settle down, and scope will be created for the most capable, industrious, and enterprising people to show what they can do. The enterprises and institutions will have unlimited opportunities for choosing the best qualified people, which will be to the benefit of the whole of society. The fictitious marriages for residence reasons will cease, and other distortions will also be overcome. (I know that these ideas will seem extremely bold to some people, but it is high time to speak freely and argue, instead of being afraid of unorthodox thinking, and branding such thinking as heresy. Otherwise, we will go on asking ourselves why we are marking time.)

People are also discussing the problems regarding the necessary amendments to the organizational laws for the courts, public prosecutor's offices, and investigations. For example, the question of whether the rights of the public prosecutor in relation to the administrative organs should be expanded in order to overcome the situation where officials who have committed illegal actions are not subject to the public prosecutor. For the sake of clarity, I will give a further example from practice. The chief public prosecutor had made a protest regarding the annulment of an illegal order made by a minister, under which a highly placed official from another ministry was accommodated in an apartment belonging to an economic organization subordinate to the said minister's ministry. Subsequently, the son of the high official continued to live in the apartment (and indeed purchased it). The chief public prosecutor was unable to eliminate the illegality. Public prosecutors from all levels have similar cases. It is evident that things must be changed in order to eliminate instances of administrative arbitrariness and of people escaping with impunity.

The proposed amendments to the penal code are the subject of hot debate: What acts should no longer be a crime, how far should the alleviation of punishments extend, should the death penalty be retained, and for what crimes, and so on. Incidentally, it is unclear why the debates "for" and "against" the death penalty in NARODNA KULTURA ceased. The editors provided no summing up of the debates.

The ban under article 3 of the decree on critical publications, according to which it is forbidden in critical articles to adopt a viewpoint regarding the essence of court proceedings before the court's findings have been issued and are in force, is hardly in harmony with the process of democratization and expansion of glasnost. It is no accident that this ban is often broken, because it limits quick reaction against negative phenomena and ties the hands of active journalism. The defenders of the decree base their view on the requirement of not infringing the presumption of the innocence of the accused before a guilty verdict has been issued, and on the need not to influence the court. However, if anyone says that a certain person has committed a crime, and that person is later acquitted, or if anyone makes unjustified charges against officials of the law protection organs, then he bears the responsibility for the slander or insult.

In regard to the fear of exerting pressure on the court, what kind of judge would decide a case according to what is written in the newspapers, instead of on the case evidence? Why do we deprive the journalists of the chance to follow the warm trail of a crime alongside the the official organs, or to obtain evidence that has not been discovered by these organs due to lack of care, incompetence, or unconscientiousness (which does happen)? We admire foreign journalists, who establish the truth more quickly and more accurately than the police and the court, but we do not want to give our journalists this chance. In any case, we should not forget that the journalist, through his revelations and articles, can assist the work of the law protection organs, and not necessarily hinder it, as some people think. Another thing that we should not forget is that in Bulgaria, legal errors have been established by journalists.

There have been cases of superficial, nonobjective, biased, and tendentious articles, and so on. This is of course true. (The leaderships of the Bulgarian Journalists Union and the editorial offices must adopt more effective measures against this phenomenon.) However, are there not also cases of wrong court verdicts and wrong acts by public prosecutors and investigators that are annulled by the superior organs? It seems that within the department we can make mistakes and talk about our mistakes among ourselves, but no one outside must know about them. This is why there must be negative assessments of the errors of both lawyers and journalists, with the appropriate consequences.

It is said that under the present conditions of work some judges want to resign. So what? Let the incompetent and weak give up their posts. Society has nothing to lose from this.

The above are some of the consequences of glasnost in the legal sphere. The general assessment is an optimistic one. The conservatism, narrowmindedness, and overweaning official ambition that possess certain people have been shaken. However, we should not delude ourselves into thinking that no clashes of views and accusations of various sins will occur in the future. Such phenomena are the inevitable companions of restructuring and of the radical change that must be carried out in order to for us to become a modern state based on law.

Editorial note: The editorial office is also prepared to publish other opinions.

Chief of General Staff Details Arms, Troop Cuts

LD0302142389 Prague CTK in English 1342 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Prague Feb 3 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia welcomed the successful conclusion of the Vienna follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe as a new milestone on the road towards a qualitatively new state of Europe, Colonel-General Miroslav Vacek told a news conference here today.

The chief of the General Staf of the Czechoslovak People's Army and first deputy defence minister stressed that Czechoslovakia considers disarmament in Europe one of the basic principles of its foreign policy. He said that in Europe there exists approximate military parity, and that reliable determination of the ratio of military forces on a global scale is a complex problem. In this connection he voiced regret that NATO has not accepted the Warsaw Treaty's proposal for joint work on this issue. If it had accepted it more could have been done, he said.

Speaking about the planned withdrawl of one Soviet division from Czechoslovak territory, Vacek said that four independent Soviet formations will be withdrawn this year including one shock parachute battalion, one engineers' battalion. Besides this, two divisions of the Central Group of Soviet Forces in Czechoslovakia will be reorganized so that they acquire a markedly defensive character. On the whole, 1,500 soldiers, 197 tanks and 20 combat aircraft of the Soviet Army will be withdrawn from Czechoslovakia in 1989.

In 1990, one Soviet tank division will be pulled out of Czechoslovak territory and other units will be reorganized with the aim to strengthen their defensive character. This will mean withdrawal of another 3,800 soldiers and 516 tanks. Thus, in the years 1989-1990, withdrawn from Czechoslovakia will be one Soviet tank division and four independent battalions totalling 5,300 men, 708 tanks and 20 combat aircraft.

Answering a question about military service in Czechoslovakia, Miroslav Vacek said that the basic service lasts 24 months but there exist exceptions in which the service is shortened to only five months on grounds of family and social reasons or if it is in the interest of national economy. On the possibility of the so-called alternative service demanded by believers he said that this is not motivated by political reasons. The command of the Czechoslovak People's Army does not consider this problem topical as it concerns only individuals. These cases are being sensitively solved and solutions satisfying both sides are being found.

On the possibility of shortened military service in connection with the Czechoslovak initiative to create a zone of confidence in central Europe, Vacek said that this would mean reduction of the absolute number of the Czechoslovak Armed Forces. "Czechoslovakia's historical experience confirms that as long as the present state in Europe concerning the number of armed forces and amount of weapons and eqipment is preserved, the length of the basic military service (in Czechoslovakia) will remain the same as at present," Vacek said.

He underlined that Czechoslovakia lays great stress on success of the talks on conventional armed forces opening in Vienna March 6.

Adamec Views 1988, Europe, Polish Cooperation

AU2601135789 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 Jan 89 p 1

[Interview with CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec by RZECZPOSPOLITA: "CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec Replies to Questions From RZECZPOSPOLITA: Restructuring Will Provide a New Impetus"; date, place not given]

[Text] [RZECZPOSPOLITA] What event in your country last year was the most significant for the future of the country?

[Adamec] It was undoubtedly the December CPCZ Central Committee plenum, at which it was decided to hold the next, 18th party congress in May 1990. Something that was very important for me personally was the support that the CPCZ Central Committee accorded the federal government's decision to speed up the restructuring of the mechanism for directing the national economy so that it can be introduced as extensively as possible from 1 January 1990—that is, a year ahead of time.

Both these important decisions signify the practical implementation of the strategy for accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. They meet the need to place the entire national economy on a more dynamic and, at the same time, more effective path of development. They will make it possible to achieve a valuable time advantage, to accelerate important social changes, and finally, to exercise a clear influence on the preparation, and thus the success, of the next 5-year plan.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] What is your country's attitude toward the idea of building "a common European home"?

[Adamec] Our peoples live in the very center of Europe. The experience gained through a history of struggling for survival and independence has taught us to value peace, good-neighborly relations, cooperation, and friendship. We do not consider the current situation—one in which there is a huge concentration of weapons in the region—to be normal or permanent. That is also why our society endorsed Mikhail Gorbachev's idea of "building a common European home" so warmly. We are expressing support for it not only with words, but also with concrete deeds and proposals. There are no longer any missiles with nuclear warheads on our territory. We have submitted proposals to European public opinion on creating a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good-neighborliness along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. We have signed an agreement with the EEC

on trade in industrial goods. We highly appraised the Soviet Union's decision on reducing forces and conventional weapons, along with the withdrawal of part of the armored forces stationed on our territory. I invited to Prague the premiers of the governments of the states bordering the CSSR to consider possibilities for cooperation in the ecological sphere. Of course, we are ready to examine any initiative that could contribute to making Europe not only a common home, but also a real home for all its inhabitants.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] How are prospects for bilateral relations viewed in your country?

[Adamec] We are linked to on another by history and the present. Our paths have often met: We have experienced historic victories and defeats together. Our similar languages and cultures create conditions for understanding between our peoples. Our postwar cooperation also contains many positive elements, especially in the economic sphere.

So, there are achievements that we can point to in our bilateral relations. However, there are still many reserves and possibilities for invigorating and deepening our relations. However, I would particularly like to stress our common task of striving to create new, more effective forms of cooperation within the CEMA framework, in keeping with our common interest in strengthening the economic potential and international standing of the socialist community.

I would like to say that I believe that social restructuring will provide both our countries with a new impetus for strengthen comprehensive cooperation to the benefit of the peoples of our fraternal states. The Czechoslovak Government wishes to actively contribute to this.

Communique Issued on Jaruzelski Visit

LD0102233989 Warsaw PAP in English
2311 GMT 1 Feb 89

["Communique on Jaruzelski Visit to Czechoslovakia (abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Prague, Feb. 1—Wojciech Jaruzelski, PUWP CC [Central Committee] first secretary, president of Poland's Council of State, paid a friendly working visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation from the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ). The Polish leader held talks with CPCZ CC General Secretary Milos Jakes and also met with CPCZ CC Presidium member, Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak.

Jaruzelski and Jakes exchanged information on the economic and political situation in their countries, both parties' tasks in the current period alongside the realization of the resolutions of the 10th PUWP and the 17th CPCZ Congresses.

Both leaders underscored the importance of close cooperation between the PUWP and the CPCZ for mutual relations. One of ventures aimed at this is an agreement on cooperation in superstructure between the two fraternal parties, now in the works.

Jaruzelski and Jakes highly assessed a dynamically increasing volume of mutual economic cooperation. The two regarded as necessary to adjust to new conditions the structure and range of activity of bodies dealing with economic cooperations.

They discussed cooperation within the CMEA and agreed to promote the necessity of seeking new methods of multilateral cooperation with a view to creating real economic possibilities for development of mutual relations and socialist economic integration.

Exchanging views on the current international situation, both leaders stated with satisfaction that the new political thinking was gradually finding expression in international relations. Initiatives of the Soviet Union and the remaining socialist countries, the peaceful efforts of Warsaw Treaty states bring positive results already now.

Jaruzelski and Jakes particularly highly evaluated Mikhail Gorbachev's address at the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly and the Soviet unilateral decision on reduction of conventional forces. They gave support to activities undertaken by the remaining socialist countries for reduction of military budgets, manpower and armaments of their armed forces. At the same time they voiced the hope that the NATO states would also take corresponding steps.

Both leaders positively assessed development of European relations. They stressed that preservation of a lasting peace and security in Europe was conditional on inviolability of borders, respect for the existing territorial-political realities, sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, non-interference in their internal affairs and other universally recognized principles and norms of relations between states. In connection with this they fully supported peace initiatives of Poland and Czechoslovakia, respectively.

The two were of the opinion that a meeting between premiers of governments of Czechoslovakia's neighbours on ecology would be a practical example of a possibility of development of European dialogue and cooperation.

The Jaruzelski-Jakes talks were held in a frank, friendly and constructive atmosphere.

Jaruzelski invited his Czechoslovak counterpart to pay a visit to Poland. The invitation was accepted with satisfaction.

Comparison of Report on Joint Polish Talks
AU0302121289

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 2 February on page 1 carries a 1,300-word "CTK and d.a.m."-signed report, entitled "Czechoslovak-Polish Talks," concerning the talks between Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish State Council, in Prague on 1 February. The RUDE PRAVO report has been compared with the Prague Domestic Service in Czech version published in the 2 February East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 8, showing the two versions to be identical, except for RUDE PRAVO's use of boldface to emphasize some passages and the following variation:

Last paragraph, last sentence to the end of the report reads in RUDE PRAVO: ...socialist economic integration. [new paragraph]

While exchanging views on the contemporary international situation, they highly assessed its positive development. They noted with satisfaction that the new political thinking is gradually gaining ground in international relations. The initiative and course of action pursued by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the joint peace efforts of the Warsaw Pact member states are already yielding positive results. In this context they voiced particular appreciation for Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the 43d UN General Assembly session, in which he announced the USSR's unilateral decision to reduce its conventional forces. They expressed support for the steps taken by the other socialist countries to cut military budgets, armed forces, and arms. At the same time they expressed the hope that the NATO member states would reply with adequate steps to these specific contributions by the socialist countries to enhance trust and security in Europe.

The two representatives positively assessed the development of relations in Europe. They welcomed the successful conclusion of the Vienna follow-up meeting, which made progress in the efforts to reduce tension, eliminate the possibility of a military confrontation, and develop cooperation and the interaction of states in building a common European home, and which opened the path to negotiations on reducing conventional forces in Europe. They emphasized that the preservation of lasting peace and security in Europe is conditional on the inviolability of borders and respect for the existing territorial and political reality, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, noninterference in their internal affairs, as well as for the other generally accepted principles and norms of interstate relations. In this connection they reciprocally expressed full support for the peace initiatives of the CSSR and the PPR, the implementation of which would undeniably contribute to the further evolution of the aforementioned positive processes.

In the opinion of the two representatives, the holding of a meeting of the heads of government of the countries bordering Czechoslovakia on ecological issues would practically demonstrate the possibility of European dialogue and cooperation on this issue, which is so vital for ensuring a healthy environment on our continent.

They emphasized the need to enhance the unity of the international communist and workers movement as well as cooperation with the forces of social progress.

The talks took place in a frank, comradely, and constructive atmosphere.

The first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee invited the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee to visit Poland. The invitation was accepted with satisfaction. (supplying additional passage)

Romanian Deputy Foreign Minister Arrives 30 Jan
AU0102153189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Jan 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] Constantin Oancea, deputy foreign minister of the SR of Romania, flew into Prague on Monday [30 January] for bilateral consultations at the invitation of Pavel Sadovsky, CSSR first deputy foreign minister. The issues at the center of attention concerned the further development of Czechoslovak-Romanian relations and the development of the international situation following the signing of the final document of the Vienna follow-up meeting. The possibilities of further developing cooperation between the two countries' foreign ministries were also assessed.

Received by Jaromir Johanes
LD3101223489 Prague CTK in English 1830 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 31 (CTK) - Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes received here today Romanian Deputy Foreign Minister Constantin Oancea.

The two representatives discussed some questions of Czechoslovak-Romanian relations, the present international situation and the further development of cooperation between the two countries' foreign ministries.

The talks were also attended by Romanian Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Ion Patan.

The same day Constantin Oancea was received by head of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee International Policy Department Michal Stefanak.

Party Ideological Commission Meets 31 Jan

LD3102234789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] Today in Prague the CPCZ Central Committee Ideological Commission discussed the plan of its activity up to the 18th party congress and approved the draft agenda. In this period, propaganda must contribute to activating the entire party, inciting a creative approach, and making an example of our Communists in implementing restructuring, in thoroughly improving the quality of party work, and in more closely connecting it with the broadest strata of the working people.

The meaning of restructuring is the renewal of the Leninist understanding of socialism and its full development in the current conditions. It requires, as was emphasized by Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, that we do away with all that is old in the theory and practice of socialism, that which hindered and is still hindering its progress, and that which lowers the value of historical advantages as well as advantages of the socialist social system. In particular, the communications media must point to restructuring in our society as a part of the process of fundamental transformations of the world of socialism, which is inseparably connected with deepening the cooperation of the socialist countries both in domestic and foreign policy.

The ideological commission also discussed the ideological and thematic plan for Czechoslovak radio's broadcasting for this year with prospects up to the year 1990. Radio's main task in this period is, by specific expressive means, to contribute toward fulfilling the conclusions of the 17th party congress and the subsequent Central Committee session. In the interest of increasing broadcasting efficiency, radio will devote first-rate significance to news reporting and publications, to satisfy listeners' growing interest in information, as well as society's need for the people's ideological, moral, and aesthetic education.

In connection with the recent mass disturbances in Prague, which were organized by the so-called Charter 77 and other illegal groups, the Party Central Committee Ideological Commission will discuss topical questions of efficient ideological and political influence of the Communists in all National Front organs and organizations, especially young people. The Leninist principle of open politics and public information must be consistently applied using all forms and means of offensive political influence, linking socialist democracy with high political responsibility.

RUDE PRAVO Notes Anonymous Protest Threats

LD0402101289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0830 GMT 4 Feb 89

[From the press review]

[Text] RUDE PRAVO's leading article, entitled: The steadfast way concerns change in our society that give rise to positive as well as negative reactions.

Some of the negative ones are commented on by the author, Frantisek Cinger, who views anonymous threats made to public officials, the media, and citizens. He notes that on 7 May 1987 RUDE PRAVO published a large part of a speech by National Artist Milos Kopecky at the Fourth Congress of the Union of Czech Dramatic Artists. In it he spoke about restructuring, society, and youth. His views caused great excitement and were even broadcast by Radio Free Europe.

Now Milos Kopecky has asked the editorial office to publish an anonymous note that was placed in his mailbox this week. The text reads as follow: We warn you not to take part in the actions of antisocialist agitators. We know everything about you, and you will suffer the consequences of your own actions. Keep this in mind for your own good.

Milos Kopecky informed RUDE PRAVO of this in a letter with a postscript: I think that the anonymous note should be published. If you decide otherwise, please tell me why.

As Frantisek Cinger writes in his commentary, the letters typed through carbon paper are similar to other so-called relations recently received by the editorial office containing the same threats: that consequences will be suffered. For example: If armed public security units or the People's Militia again take action against the demonstrators, we will be forced to use hand grenades and machineguns imported from a developing country against them. We have no connection with Charter 77; we only sympathize with it.

The secretary of the district committee of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association in one Czech town received a similar blackmail ultimatum that even threatened murder. Unfortunately, we could continue listing other anonymous notes, RUDE PRAVO states. The threat appears in different forms: by telephone, in writing, and on the walls. It is clear that at a time of social changes caused and inspired by the restructuring of our society, the most varied pressures come into being, and not only pressures. The most varied extremist attitudes and approaches, which can rightly be called psychological terrorism, appear next to serious thoughts and proposals. Whatever vocabulary they may use, one thing is certain: Similar threats must be categorically rejected and condemned.

Reasons for Decline in Joint Soviet Trade Viewed

AU0102172589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Jan 89 p 7

[Jan Tihlarik Moscow dispatch: "A Shirt That Is Too Tight; Why Is Trade Between the CSSR and the USSR Declining?"]

[Text] Moscow (from our correspondent)—The volume of Czechoslovak-Soviet trade dropped by R800 million last year; it amounted to R11.3 billion, which was 93.2 percent of the 1987 level.

Why did this phenomenon occur, after years in which we were used to boasting about annual growth in the mutually advantageous trade exchange? A news conference at the Czechoslovak Trade Mission in Moscow held on Monday [30 January] helped to find an answer to this question. Among the most momentous causes of the weakening commercial interest in Czechoslovak products is the CSSR's surplus in the balance of payments; at the beginning of this year, the difference between accounting items was R806 million in the CSSR's favor. It is expected that by the end of 1989, despite all efforts for balanced trade between the two countries, this difference will increase to roughly R1.5 billion in our favor.

We have drifted into this imbalance of payments because of the long years of having an unchanged structure in our mutual trade. Up to 80 percent of the USSR's exports to the CSSR have been raw materials, while our exports have consisted chiefly of machinery and equipment. As a result of the decline in world prices, the Soviet Union, with its now cheaper raw materials, cannot pay for the planned amount of industrial products. This, thus, in fact leads to a rise in its indebtedness. To prevent an inordinate increase in its indebtedness, the USSR is trying, on the one hand, to change the structure of its exports in favor of industrial products and, on the other, to reduce purchases of our engineering products.

However, one also cannot conceal the fact that those Soviet organizations that last year obtained licenses to operate in the sphere of foreign trade are not bound by long-term routine relations, and that they choose their partners primarily according to the quality of the merchandise that they offer. In other words, they are oriented toward products of the highest quality and technical standards, which we are not always capable of supplying. This, too, is a reason why our mutual trade will decline this year. This trend is also expected to continue in the subsequent years.

Third, it needs to be realized that, until now, the framework of our trade relations has been delineated by the intergovernmental protocol, into which contracts have been squeezed. This shirt has proven to be too tight for the future. Incidentally, this is also confirmed by the transition to a different method of coordinating plans between the two countries. The producers themselves are assuming a steadily growing role in this process. It is also apparent that our goods exchange and cooperation in manufacturing will develop outside this shirt of protocols, by means of direct commercial and production links that are simply difficult to include in the aforementioned protocol.

Czechoslovak-Soviet trade relations also directly reflect the unrealistic exchange rates of our national currencies vis-a-vis the foreign currencies that are used for purchases on world markets. This, just like the question of the methodology of price setting, is one of the problems that have come to a head and whose solution cannot be delayed any longer, even though it will obviously be rather painful.

In the spirit of the aforementioned efforts at curbing a sharp rise in the Czechoslovak trade surplus with the Soviet Union, it is expected that mutual foreign trade turnover will drop further this year, to R10.5 billion. Czechoslovak exports, mainly of machinery and equipment, will decline by R546 million, while Soviet exports will decline by R260 million. The proportion of Soviet engineering products among exports to Czechoslovakia will increase 3.6 percent at the expense of raw materials.

Military Observers Invited to Austrian Maneuvers

AU0102153489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Jan 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] General Othmar Tauschitz, general inspector of the Austrian Army, has invited two Czechoslovak officers to attend the exercises of the Austrian Army. These exercises begin in the Waldviertel area on 31 January. The invitation is to serve as another step toward developing Czechoslovak-Austrian relations and the strengthening of good-neighborly relations.

Soldiers Fire in Berlin Wall Escape Attempt

LD0602092689 Hamburg DPA in German 0645 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—Early this morning, an escape attempt across the Berlin Wall evidently ended in grief. According to the police, an eyewitness saw an unknown man surmount the wall on Nobelstrasse in East Berlin. When he reached the last security fence, GDR border soldiers shouted at him: "Stop! Freeze! Lie down!" Prior to this, according to the eyewitness, the border soldiers fired 10 shots and a flare. The man threw himself to the ground and was taken to a military vehicle by two border soldiers. No shots reached West Berlin territory, according to the police announcement.

Honecker, Fojtik Discuss Disarmament, Economy

LD0302141789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1310 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR and the CSSR want to contribute to the implementation of the Warsaw Pact's peace strategy with a flexible policy of dialogue. This was stressed in Berlin on Friday by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, and Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. The two sides want to jointly utilize every possibility for strengthening the positive changes in the international arena.

This intention is demonstrated by the two countries' latest measures for the unilateral reduction of the manpower and arms of their armies. There is agreement between the two sides that respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states must be part of the architecture of the European home if firm trust and broad cooperation there is to endure.

The GDR is resolutely continuing its course of unified economic and social policy, comprehensive intensification, and the priority development of key technologies, Erich Honecker said in the talk. In its policy, the SED also will continue to strictly observe the universal laws of socialist construction, as well as specific national characteristics, and will continue along the path of continuity and renewal. The fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the CPSU and with other fraternal countries and parties is proving itself as a foundation for the successful advance of socialism on German soil.

The CPCZ is aware of the complexity of its tasks, but could take new steps confidently building on what has been achieved, said Jan Fojtik. The introduction of economic reform, as well as far-reaching changes in other social spheres led by the CPCZ, are aimed at strengthening the performance of socialism. The successful mastery of the questions that have arisen at the same time further strengthens the population's trust in CPCZ policy.

Honecker and Fojtik underlined their parties' stance of further raising the importance of socialism in the international class struggle, above all through strengthening the performance of socialism in their countries and through deepening friendship and cooperation among the socialist countries.

The SED and the CPCZ are working purposefully toward making the exchange of experiences even more efective and toward utilizing more intensively the great possibilities for joint or coordinated solutions of tasks as they arise.

Fojtik Concludes Berlin Visit

LD0302180489 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, is today concluding his 3-day working visit to the German Democratic Republic.

Our permanent correspondent in Berlin, Slavomir Valickaj, reports on today's agenda.

[Valickaj] Comrade Fojtik was received today by Erich Honecker, the highest party and state official of the GDR. They briefed each other about current developments in the two countries and also discussed topical internaval questions. They spoke about the present tasks of the CPCZ and SED in the period of preparations for their forthcoming congresses. Both representatives agreed that exactly in this period efficient ideological work gains extraordinary significance—work which correspondents in its content and forms to the requirements of the present stage of the development of socialism.

Comrade Fojtik briefed him about conclusions of the 10th and 12th party Central Committee sessions, which gave the restructuring process in our country new impulses.

Evaluating developments in the world, Jan Fojtik and Erich Honecker stated that positive changes have taken place recently, especially in the field of disarmament. In this context, they highlighted the constructive contribution of the socialist countries toward detente and toward the creation of an atmosphere of trust on the European continent.

They noted in this context the latest unilateral measures taken by the Warsaw Pact member states.

Comrades Fojtik and Honecker stressed that relations between the two countries as well as between their fraternal parties are good. The foundations for their further development lie in the conclusions achieved at the meeting between Milos Jakes and Erich Honecker, the highest party officials, last March.

Comrade Fojtik also met today with Joachim Herrmann, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee. They stressed the increasing significance and responsibility of the media in the present period.

Tisch Speaks on Preparations for Local Elections

LD0302174789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1429 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The public discussion in the GDR prior to the local elections on 7 May is marked by the tried and tested policy of "join in working, planning, and governing." This was underlined by Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB National Executive, in Berlin on Friday. Referring to the tasks of the trade unions in preparing the elections, he said that dialogue on current domestic and foreign policy issues have to be conducted in honest talks with the working people at the work place in order to win everyone over to active participation.

The FDGB, with 9.6 million members, Harry Tisch stated in his speech to the FDGB National Executive Presidium, will work with all social forces which are united in the National Front to further advance progress on a territorial level for the welfare of the citizens.

In the FDGB elections which begin this month, the trade union groups and labor collectives are called upon to select, examine and nominate the best trade unionists as candidates for the Kreis assemblies, town councils, municipal district assemblies, and community councils.

Number of Foreign Workers in Country Increasing

AU0502175589 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 4 Feb 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "More Than 53,000 Vietnamese Guest Workers in the GDR"]

[Text] Frankfurt, 3 February—The number of guest workers in the GDR has increased to about 85,000. Informationsbuero West reports that according to the Dresden SED organ, SAECHSISCHE ZEITUNG, this figure includes 53,000 Vietnamese; 14,000 workers from Mozambique; 10,000 Cubans; 6,500 Poles; 1,000 Angolans; and 900 Chinese from the PRC. The foreign workers work in more than 800 enterprises of virtually all branches of the economy. They usually stay on for 5 years. The SED organ said that the coexistence of guest workers and GDR citizens is "generally good, but of course not without problems." The newspaper report says that the guest workers "have the same status defined by labor legislation" as their colleagues, and they take part "in the social achievements." Part of their income can be transferred to their home country where it is available in the national currency. They use the remaining part to finance their living in the GDR and to buy goods for their families at home. These goods-exports are duty-free and are confined to the personal necessities of the foreign worker and his family. For example, guest workers cannot send more than five bicycles home within a period of 5 years. There are also export restrictions on sewing machines and mopeds.

CDU, Russian Church Sign Cooperation Agreement

LD0301185789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1640 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—CDU Chairman Gerald Goetting and Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk and Belorussia, chairman of the Russian Orthodox Church Foreign Church Relations Department, Friday in Berlin signed a cooperation agreement for 1989. The agreement, among other things, provides for the continuation of the exchange of views on world political issues, mutual participation in international conferences, and consultations. The two parties lauded the agreement as a clear expression of the close friendship between the CDU and the Russian Orthodox Church.

1,600 Participate in Eighth Historians' Congress

AU0302154989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Feb 89 p 1

[Excerpt] East Berlin (ND)—The eighth GDR Historians' Congress began in the Berlin Congress Hall in Alexander Square on Tuesday [31 January]. It is taking place under the general topic of "War and Peace and Social Progress in History." Participating in the 4-day congress are about 1,600 scientists, teachers, propagandists, students, and employees of archives and museums.

The conference participants warmly welcomed Kurt Hager, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, other Central Committee members—among them Klaus Gaebler, director of a Central Committee department, and Kurt Tiedke, rector of the "Karl Marx" Party College—as well as representatives of other parties, GDR social organizations, and foreign guests from ten countries. [passage omitted]

Poszgay on 'Popular Uprising,' Multiparty System

LD0301182189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Zsuzsa Ladanyi now reports on a party aktiv which was held by Imre Pozsgay in Hodmezovasarhely today:

[Ladanyi] At the political rally, which was followed with enormous interest, Imre Pozsgay first spoke about topical issues concerning the system of political institutions, and then about the economic situation and possible developments. He asked for the people's confidence in his activity, while emphasizing several times that the current crisis is not a crisis of socialism, but rather an economic-social crisis. It is necessary to work, not on the decline of socialism, but rather on its ascendance.

The participants in the rally were able to question the minister of state without any preliminaries or preparations. They asked him about the consequences of his statement on the "168 Hours" radio program last week concerning the Central Committee's next session on 10 February. They were also curious about when the report of the committee completing the analysis of the 1956 events would be made public. Several people asked whether we have anything to fear from the multiparty system.

Imre Pozsgay replied to the questions. In connection with his statement on "168 Hours," he said that it was not timed to any event, and that there was no hidden intention or political strategem behind it. The committee met in session on Friday [27 January]; thus, it was possible to talk about its conclusions on Saturday. What I said on the radio, Imre Pozsgay stressed, was not my personal opinion, but rather the conclusion of the historical subcommittee. He believes that there is no intention of changing this even at the Central Committee session.

It is my belief, he said, that among the terms revolution, counterrevolution, or popular uprising, the latter is the most appropriate. It does not frighten off friends or allies, but it does acknowledge the sacrifices that were made.

In this connection, Imre Pozsgay also said that there was a proletarian dictatorship in Hungary only until 1949, and that it is only possible to talk about the rule of an oligarchy after that. Along with all this, he said, there is no talk of the past 40 years being merely a collection of mistakes.

In connection with the multiparty system, he believed that the party must prepare for this. Among the various kinds of social endeavors, none are seen as considering their goal to be the immediate gaining of power. The multiparty system, as a form of compromise, must be viewed as part of the political system. A coalition can be formed, and if this is not successful, then the opposition must be openly defined.

Further on Poszgay Remarks

LD0302211189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Accepting a long-standing invitation, Minister of State Imre Pozsgay spent today in Hodmezovasarhely, in the porcelain factory. Our correspondents also accompanied him.

As part of the program, he held a rally in the afternoon. He first spoke about his most recent statement, about the reaction to it. The time to clarify the past is here, he said. Only by openness is it possible to regain trust, but this must be done urgently, because we have used up the reserves of a country which is poor in capital and tools, and now, in the faith of the people as well. Finally, there must be an end to this, Imre Pozsgay said. A country becomes unmanageable not from its economy being multfaceted, not from people having opinions, but rather from things unyieldingly going (?asunder). Our country has no possibility of another 1956. This people has used up its reserves of catastrophe for this century. After his speech, which was received with much enthusiasm, and in diverging from political practice, those who were present at the rally were invited to ask questions. Here is a sampling of the questions:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] Comrade Pozsgay asked for the people's confidence [word indistinct]. However, since the May party conference, this new leadership [words indistinct] a tax system, which is mistaken in its foundations, through parliament, and enacted extremely drastic price increases that afflict all the people.

[Second unidentified speaker] [Words indistinct] I ask whether your statement of last Saturday [28 January] is expected to have such an impact (?at the Central Committee session on the 10th) that...

[Third unidentified speaker, interrupting] I would like to know who participated in the committee, where they are reviewing the counterrevolutionary events, and who, without any pangs of conscience, is stating that it was a people's uprising.

[Poszgay] We cannot put these political debates on one side for ourselves. At that time I thought, and I still think, that I was reporting in this evaluation the results of a very well-grounded study, following the session of a committee, after the session of a committee that we called, among ourselves. This is because we consider one of our tasks, together with disclosing the truth, together with stating the truth, to be achieving national reconciliation, achieving a consensus in connection with events that took place decades ago, such as those of 1956.

This can be undertaken precisely in the spirit of reconciliation, of national reconciliation, because since that time we have come to know better what happened then and what it was that induced the reaction of the people. We

also know that by thinking along these lines we are not causing pain to those who, with genuine commitment, fell victim in the struggle against the various atrocities and the most diverse expressions of inhumanity.

In this way, the sacrifice was not in vain. No one questioned this, neither in the committee nor since then. However, deliberately misleading explanations are being made which, on the other hand, are maliciously moving matters in this direction [as heard]...

[Unidentified speaker] What kind of misleading explanations do you mean?

[Pozsgay] Well, that this perhaps degrades the sacrifice of those who in 1956 deserved the Order for Worker-Peasant Power, or the Order for the Socialist Homeland for their actions. The issue here is not a revision [felulbiralat]. God forbid that we return to the issue of 1956 like this. But at the same time, the other side of the issue is that the situation must be clarified, and it must also be made clear that this party stands together with the majority of the people; it can not only admit its own mistakes but—with a new mode of thinking and by concentrating the forces of reform—it can serve the resurgence of the country.

[Unidentified speaker] Did you think that you would create such a storm?

[Pozsgay] Perhaps I did not expect a storm, but I did know that very sharp, knife-edge sharp political debates would take place. The situation in the country can only be clarified through political debate. I cannot believe in a social peace which seeks to achieve consensus by by-passing the issues preoccupying the people. Such consensuses remained (?apparent rather than real), and all have fallen in the past 30 years. Polarization is also unavoidable.

One must nail one's colors to the mast; you cannot sit on the fence. The situation must be made clear because if we give progress a voice in the form of a stealthy and sneaky reform, then progress will have little faith when facing the power complex. [sentence as heard] Thinking in terms of complexes has never produced good results in Hungarian political history, and it has never led to the victory of progress. [end recording]

KISZ Head Terms Pozsgay 'Close' to Truth

LD0402184389 Budapest MTI in English 1710 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 4 (MTI)—'The debated statement of Imre Pozsgay about a popular uprising having taken place in Hungary in 1956 is not far from the truth', said Imre Nagy, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Union of Hungary (KISZ), at the conference of youth activists held on Saturday [4 February] in Zalaegerszeg. Mr Nagy added: The qualification of 'popular uprising' occasioned emotions not only within the party, but also among most of the alternative organizations. He stated: The issue is far more than the evaluation of an event that took place 33 years ago. Namely, 'How the party can look its own past in the face, and the political and economic system which it established in this country, and how it is able to stand at the head of the efforts that wish to change this'. However, this latter can be easily foiled by adhering to the hitherto theses, Mr Nagy noted. And although the statement was only one word, thus it cannot be a precise characterization, it was not a lucky word to use but is close to the truth all the same, said Mr Nagy.

Today, the country faces two tremendous 'lessons': the handling of the economic crisis, and the crisis in confidence that follows from it, and the change in model, Mr Nagy continued. However, this practice of socialism cannot at all be further maintained, he further continued. To not face this would be the same sort of error as to fully reject and refuse the past four decades. The problems are not worse by the fact that the party, which is by no means unified, has no pronounced strategy for the critical period, he stressed.

Discussing the youth union, Mr Nagy noted: 'KISZ should be made suitable to remain capable of actions in the Hungary of tomorrow, amidst the frameworks of multi-party system and parliamentary democracy, in a debating cooperation, at times in clashes, with several equal youth organizations.' With respect to the KISZ of tomorrow, he said it would consist of several independent member organizations. The name of the union will be decided at the forthcoming congress, or possibly in the framework of 'a referendum within the KISZ', said Mr Nagy.

Szuros Interviewed on Assessment of 1956 Events

LD0202224389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Matyas Szuros spent the day in Borsod County. In the afternoon he delivered a lecture at a meeting of Communists of Miskolc town and gave an interview to our correspondent, Peter Juhasz.

[Juhasz] Matyas Szuros first held a discussion with the leaders of the county and the town, then he met National Assembly deputies. After this he held a great aktiv in the headquarters of the county party committee. When it ended, journalists rushed up to him and he gave a small impromptu news conference. It was there that I asked him about his crowded agenda.

[Begin recording] [Szuros] I consider one of the most important things on my agenda to be the meeting with the National Assembly deputies; for I am the head of the party group of deputies and this places on my shoulders certain responsibilities and duties. Until now our method has been to continuously inform the party member deputies and to use this information to prepare them

for a particular assembly session. I have already spoken about the fact that this group cannot operate in the classic meaning of a faction. I will not go into details about this now. But the essence of it is that until now it has primarily been we, ourselves, who have been speaking. Now however we have a resolution in which we endeavor to ensure the National Assembly deputies the opportunity to also express their views, problems, and proposals. Up to now it was this for which we have had an opportunity. While we received an enormous amount of information about the work of a particular deputy, we were asked questions, and the deputies raised problems. All this is good, because if we meet the county group of deputies, then we can get a very useful picture containing lessons. However, what already happened here was that questions were put very frankly and constructively. Just like at the great aktiv where several hundred people were present—it is said that the hall can contain 500 people—here too one of the most important questions was about a statement of Imre Pozsgay. [end recording]

[Juhasz] Today's Miskolc DELI HIRLAP prints the complete text of the letter the Miskolc town party committee sent to the Central committee. In this letter the party committee expressed its disagreement with Imre Pozsgay's description of the October 1956 events as a "popular uprising" [nepfelkeles]. The party committee considers using a single word to judge the events of 1956 as incorrect. It sees it as desirable to clarify the situation scientifically. Instead of the stance of one single person it demands the analysis by the Central Committee.

[Begin Szuros recording] I know that other bodies from various parts of the country have also made their voices heard expressing opinions against this statement.

These must be treated very calmly and cautiously [koerueltekintoen]. The entire question must be handled cautiously. My view—and as far as I know this is also the view of the party leadership—is that, of course, a "Pozsgay case" must not be made out of this.

The history of the past 40 years must be studied calmly and political conclusions must be made about it in order for us to work out a program that is suitable and points the way to the future for the party—not only for the party but for the country as well. I want to mention here something that perhaps I did not emphasize at the aktiv: That is that it not just I who hold the view that a great crisis for socialism, for the building of socialism burst to the surface, gained expression in 1956, so great that the leaders—we ourselves—could hardly have suspected it; and it is only now in light of the changes taking place in the Soviet Union, in light of the changes under way in other socialist countries, in the international communist and workers movement that we really see this now.

In other words, my view is that the historical events must be studied calmly and in a measured fashion by historians and scientists. They have to assess them, draw conclusions from them. However, it is also important for the party. I think we will reach a stage of formulating a realistic picture of the entire 40 years of our development and, within this framework, about this sensitive point, about 1956. I still resolutely claim that these were very complex events. It was not only Hungarian reality and the Hungarian crisis that broke to the surface at that time, but also certain problems on the socialist path forced themselves to the surface as well. However, since there are still very many people who participated in this event who are alive today, it cannot be kept independent of emotional or political considerations—that is, regarding comments about it or approaches to it. I think that gradually a realistic picture will evolve. We will also discuss it in the party. We will publish the scientific study in this respect as well as research relating to it, and a realistic picture will evolve.

For what has taken place so far? The official version of these events—the stance of the party—until now has been that it was a counterrevolution. This is probably an oversimplification but on the other hand, to give another one-word explanation would also be an oversimplification. In other words, this must be thought through more seriously and a realistic assessment of the whole will thus evolve; and we will learn certain things from it. [end recording]

Further on Szuros Remarks

LD0202231789 Budapest MTI in English 2056 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 2 (MTI)—'The complex events in Hungary in 1956 cannot be comprehensively characterized by one single word—either with counterrevolution or popular uprising. Naturally, it is necessary for us to evaluate 1956 in a realistic manner. The theme is not closed. This is an issue of major importance, discussion of which will continue, and will be placed on the agenda of the session of the Central Committee summoned for February 10', said Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, on Thursday in Miskolc, at a meeting with a group of parliamentary MPs of Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen County.

Almost all speakers at the meeting were concerned with Hungarian-Romanian relations and their probable developments. In this context, Mr Szuros noted: 'An international cooperation has emerged and the overwhelming majority of the European public is already on our side.' Mr Szuros voiced his agreement with the related statement of the general secretary of the French Communist Party, and termed it extremely important that the pope also took a stand on the side of Hungary. However, he noted that no improvement is yet to be expected in Romania.

In the second half of the day, the secretary of the Central Committee informed the Communists and non-party member delegates of the county's companies and institutions on current political issues. Discussing the international situation of socialism, Mr Szuros noted:

'Socialism is passing through a critical period on a world scale as well, and is characterized by a search for a road, and efforts for renewal. The previous formation has not proved efficient, and come to crisis. However, socialism can be reformed and renewed, if we rely on realities and not dogma. We have to pave the way for democratic socialism in Hungary that accords to our fundamentals and possibilities.

Mr Szuros called for the comprehensive reform of the CMEA. 'We have fundamental interests in reforming the CMEA, so that it become a well-operating, modern economic community.'

Discussing the Hungarian reform processes, Mr Szuros noted: 'Haste can mean the greatest danger for us in the further reform of the system of political institutions. Both the socialist camp and the West are interested in the creation of our economic stability and the success of our reforms. And for us, Hungarians, it is expressly our vital interest for the renewal of socialism not to end in shorelessness, but that the coming period be the process of building a modern, socialist democratism.'

At the end of his visit to Borsod County, Mr Szuros gave a statement to representatives of the national and local press. Answering MTI's Miskolc correspondent who asked whether we would initiate further steps to ease the Hungarian-Romanian relation, Mr Szuros replied:

'People who earlier demanded talks are now saying we should not hold them. My opinion is that one should always negotiate. But there is no need for Arad-type talks, and such meetings will not take place. The exchange should be continued on the level of experts, and then progress made. This process can begin, although it is not expected this year, and it is uncertain when it will reach the point of another summit meeting. For apart from the latest talks between the economic joint committee, and tourism, which ended in failure, nothing has been achieved since Arad.'

According to MTI's information, the radio statement of Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSWP Political committee and minister of state, related to the evaluation of 1956 was discussed at several other forums similar to Miskolc. For instance, the federation of Hungarian anti-fascists and resistance fighters objected, in a letter forwarded to MTI, to the evaluation given in the radio programme.

Academy Head Berend Views 'Popular Uprising'

LD0502233389 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 5 Feb 89

[From "The Week" program; interview with Ivan T. Berend, president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, by unidentified announcer—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] A series of political statements has now been heard for 1 week and 1 day on the matter of the reassessment of 1956. The least that can be said of these is that they reflect the division in the highest political leadership, and that they stir up extreme emotions among public opinion. [passage omitted]

I possess the manuscript of the 136-page work that sparked off the debate. It was compiled by a working committee of the body assigned to examine the past 40 years, with the participation of outside experts. The members of the working committee are Gyula Horn, Maria Ormos, and Ferenc Tokei. Its leader is Ivan T. Berend, president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. I greet you in the studio.

Six pages of the 136 deal with the autumn of 1956, and if I counted correctly, the expression popular uprising, which aroused much dispute and controversy, appears three times in the work. According to the working committee you headed, and on the basis of the experts' reports and documents, was the autumn of 1956 a popular uprising?

[Berend] We have reached the conclusion that the preceding period, the period of Stalinism in Hungary, the Rakosi period, proved to be unrenewable, unchangeable from within and from above through reform. It resisted the effort for renewal which the party opposition, the party opposition led by Imre Nagy, initiated in 1953. This swept it into a crisis that led to an elementary popular uprising. This element, the participation of the popular masses, characterized the events throughout; indeed, even the motif of departure characterized it throughout—that is, the renewal of socialism, the shaping of a democratic, humane, and decent socialism. At the same time—and this is why we used the concept uprising, going back to the use of the concept by some MSZMP theoreticians who are no longer living, such as Gyorgy Lukacs, or Erik Molnar—the tendencies were mingled from the first moment onward.

Thus, there already were present in the events, on the 23d, the forces opposing socialism as well—that is, many kinds of nuanced forces, those seeking to restore the 1945-48 people's democracy, or those working to restore the Horthy regime, or the extreme right-wing forces who wanted to exact revenge on the Communists—lumpen elements, streetside lynchers. All these, mingled together, were present throughout, while in the meantime there was an unequivocal and resolute shift to the right in the processes. The situation at the beginning of November was not the same as in the final week of October or after the 23d, but it has to be said that it was not possible for a sort of new power to be consolidated with any of the features, neither with the counterrevolutionary feature, although these tendencies were strong in the first days of November, nor with the feature of a sort of renewed socialism.

November 4, the date of the second Soviet intervention, properly speaking, closed these processes, and this is why we consider it correct to emphasize this contradictory nature, this multifariousness in the events, instead of a summary, one-featured, and unnuanced definition. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] What is it that has raised such a furor, and why has it done so now?

[Berend] I believe that the passions have been lurking, and lurk now, concerning an issue that has not been unequivocally examined and publicly discussed. Public opinion research, a public opinion poll conducted last year, showed that roughly one-half of the population considered 1956 to be a revolution, and that roughly one-half considered it a counterrevolution. Thus, this shows the differences, and obviously, although one-third of a century has passed, these are still meaningful issues. Perhaps this is also the case because it is not possible to describe such processes with only one word, with only one adjective. Very many people surely misunderstood the single-adjective definition, and they believed that, let us say, the evaluation of the entire 3 years [as heard] that followed it, was swinging toward the other side, the extreme side. That would be an enormous mistake. I believe that the assessment of what took place after it [1956] depends very much on this, but a good part of it is also independent of this. It requires a further, more nuanced analysis. [passage omitted]

Free Democrats Pronounce 1956 'Popular Uprising'

LD0502223289 Budapest MTI in English 1919 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 5 (MTI)—The Federation of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) considers the qualification 'popular uprising' to be an advance. According to its position, however, although many elements of the events that took place still need to be clarified, it was never doubtful for the nation: The movement in October 1956 was characterized by the activity of the democratic forces of society.

Referring to the February 10 session of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, the document stresses: The position taken by the HSWP in major issues is of considerable significance also for non-party members, therefore the statement emphasizes 'the historical responsibility of the Central Committee' in the realization of the process of democratization and reform.

Minister Karpati Details Troop Reductions

LD0602000289 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 5 Feb 89

[From "The Week" program]

[Text] [Announcer] First of all, let us talk about the soldiers. Following the partial troop and arms cuts of Soviet troops stationed in Eastern Europe, similar steps were announced for the Hungarian People's Army as well. Our guest is Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati. Welcome.

There is a lot being said nowadays about numbers of personnel. Let us now take a look at a chart, one that was provided by your ministry, on which we can see, according to the Warsaw Pact, how many soldiers—in thousands of people—the Warsaw Pact and NATO have; and according to NATO, how many soldiers the Warsaw Pact and NATO—this is the second line—have. The difference is conspicuous, but there is another thing that is also conspicuous if we look closely: We confess to having about 500,000 troops, in fact more than 500,000 soldiers more than we are supposed to have. Why is that?

[Karpati] Yes. It was expected that when the data was published there would be such a great discrepancy between what NATO published in last November and what the Warsaw Pact member states published at the beginning of this week.

The method of approach has to be taken into consideration here. As is known, the talks on reducing conventional armed forces and arms in Europe will begin in Vienna in exactly 1 month. Its mandate was argued for 2 years in Vienna, and then it was adopted with compromises. Its mandate, as was earlier proposed by the Warsaw Treaty member states, will cover the land forces now stationed from the Atlantic to the Urals, although we earlier suggested that it should cover naval forces as well. Now these will not come under it. Therefore, NATO compiled its data in a way that does not at all include naval forces.

As for naval forces, in terms of personnel, NATO has 700,000 people in Europe on the Atlantic Ocean and the adjacent seas. This in itself very much approaches the numbers we provided. We are not only talking about numbers here, however.

[Announcer] If we take a look at the other chart, it will immediately come to light concerning the basic armaments that we again find a very similar phenomena—namely, according to our data, that we have about 8,000 more tanks than NATO says we have. Is that right? We state that we have 59,470, while NATO says 51,500. Are we so overly sincere?

[Karpati] We included all types of tanks, even the oldest ones. I cannot say exactly how and according to what they estimated our totals. The Warsaw Pact member states have tried from the beginning to make all published data realistic. Anyway, during the talks, specifying these data cannot be avoided. It is impossible to talk about reductions today without strict control. The same thing also happened in the case of the agreement on intermediate-range missiles. There would not have been an agreement if there had not been agreement on strict control. This will also be the same concerning conventional arms.

[Announcer] You just mentioned the Warsaw Pact data from the beginning. Very many people have the impression that the beginning has come a little late to our

country, for various NATO data could be read for years and decades in Western newspapers, while ours were considered to be top secret. Why did we start talking about this openly now?

[Karpati] NATO did not publish official data, either. There is a strategic institute in London that deals with this, and it publishes these every year. Incidentally, there are very big differences between the data issued by the London strategic institute and data recently released by NATO, if we look at it in its details: Turkey and Greece, 70,000-80,000, regarding personnel. [sentence as heard] Thus, there there are even such differences.

[Announcer] Did not we fall behind NATO in publishing official data?

[Karpati] We initiated its publication years ago. We suggested to NATO: Let us coordinate, and if this is possible, at the same time and using the same concept. They did not respond to this; they published it in November. We then said that we would wait until the agreement took place under the mandates, but that we would also publish date before the start of the talks. We were ready to do this for a long time. Well, I would just remind you, for example, that last year when the Soviet and U.S. defense ministers met in Switzerland, that also was a significant event; and there Army General Yazov proposed that NATO and the Warsaw Pact put their data on the table, just like their military doctrines, and that they be compared in that way. But they did not do this. However, I would like to say once more that the emphasis is on the fact that this data has been published. This was a precondition, and a very important precondition to the fact that these expected talks in Vienna should become successful. The enormous secrecy that surrounded this will cease. Well, for example, in our country also, we gave code numbers such as (?BF) to corps. Everybody knows this; these will be unjustified in the future. We can name the corps.

[Announcer] Like we also announced that in the next 2 years the strength of the Hungarian People's Army will be reduced by about 9,300. Of these, if I have it correctly, about 2,100 are officers and noncommissioned officers, while the rest are conscripts. If you could outline this briefly, what economic effects could this have? I believe that the situation of the Hungarian work force is not exactly rosy at the moment.

[Karpati] Yes.

[Announcer] Well, 7,200 people are going to enter the work force. What is their fate going to be?

[Karpati] Well, as for this labor force situation, there is not a labor surplus everywhere. For example, I am a deputy in Cegled, and I recently visited an engineering factory. I know that it would be good if there were more workers. It varies. It has to be surveyed precisely—for example, whether our soldiers now discharged in February can find jobs. There are regulations under which which they have to be given their jobs back. Furthermore, their wages cannot fall behind those of others because military service is considered to be employment. And this is also going to be the same in the future. Thus, people who complete military service should under no circumstances be at a disadvantage; on the contrary, they should enjoy a certain preference. But I say it openly: When we talk about reducing the Armed Forces, then, unfortunately, we cannot take the labor situation into account. Then, this, for us, I think, is a question of very great significance; we can undertake this reduction, and when we can do it, then we have to do it.

[Announcer] Thank you for coming to the studio and for this interview.

Defense Official on Cuts

LD0302113889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] On Monday [30 January], as we know, Miklos Nemeth, head of government, announced that the numbers of the Hungarian People's Army are to be reduced by some 9 percent. Aniko Sandor questioned Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, head of the Ministry of Defense press office, about what will happen to those professional soldiers who are released.

[Sandor] Will they be given retraining assistance or will they receive unemployment benefits?

[Keleti] Neither one nor the other. It is common knowledge that in the Hungarian People's Army there is an extremely great shortage of both commissioned and noncommissioned officers. In other words, we will be redirecting those of our colleagues whose posts are abolished to places where no one presently is assigned.

[Sandor] In other words, does this mean that there will be no concrete cuts at all?

[Keleti] It is a question of reducing the places, of a cutting down; there will be no reduction in the existing professional numbers because even up to this point the staff of officers has not been completely filled. The other possibility for these officers is that in the 2 years during which this reduction in force will take place, several of our colleagues will be reaching retirement age; what is more, a good number of those currently serving are above retirement age. We will respectfully say goodbye to these officers, so that they can enjoy their well-deserved rest. If we did not have a shortage of officers, then indeed we would have to discharge officers now, but the number of vacated places will cover the number of officers whose places will be abolished.

[Sandor] What will happen to the privates?

[Keleti] When this actually takes effect, when the time comes for that unit, in which we announced, inter alia, that we will be abolishing a tank brigade, then we will not be calling up conscripts to it any more.

Grosz Departs for Swiss Davos Economic Forum

LD2801191189 Budapest MTI in English 1602 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 28 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, left for Switzerland on Saturday [28 January] at the invitation of the World Economic Forum, an international foundation. Mr Grosz is to deliver a lecture at the Davos meeting of the organization on the development of East-West relations and European cooperation. The HSWP general secretary is to meet some West European politicians.

Mr Grosz is accompanied by Laszlo Kovacs, deputy minister of foreign affairs, Gyula Thurmer, adviser of the HSWP general secretary, and State Secretary Ferenc Bartha, president of the National Bank of Hungary. Janos Hajdi, ambassador of Hungary to Switzerland, is to join the delegation on the spot.

Meets IMF Head, Swiss President

LD2901201689 Budapest MTI in English 1753 GMT 29 Jan 89

[Text] Davos, January 29 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary, held talks with Jean-Michel Camdessus, managing director of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), in Zurich late in the evening on Saturday [28 January], the first day of his visit to Switzerland.

Mr Camdessus termed Hungary's stabilization and reform programme as a unique venture. He said that the balance of the state budget should be restored by cutting expenditures and reducing the number of loss-making companies more rapidly. Mr Camdessus considered it important to provide appropriate incentives for companies to export competitive products. He held it desirable to implement the reforms more consistently. The IMF president added that IMF and Hungary might conclude a three-year structural loan agreement in 1989.

Mr Grosz emphasized that the Hungarian Government intended to implement its programmes in any case, for which the support of IMF is an important condition. He appreciated the assistance received from the IMF experts. In reply to the remark on consistency, Mr Grosz stressed that the various economic steps must be made in a concrete human environment and the leadership of the country has to reckon with the tolerance of the population and cannot act with technocratic one-sidedness. The general secretary reconfirmed a former invitation of President Camdessus to Hungary.

On Sunday, Mr Grosz met Jean-Pascal Delamuraz, president of the Swiss Confederation. (This was the highest-level meeting between a Hungarian and a Swiss leader.) The sides agreed that the two countries were maintaining good political relations.

Mr Grosz said that the Hungarian Government was dissatisfied with economic relations, not so much for the balance of trade but because of the inadequate role of the advanced forms of economic cooperation. The general secretary said it would promote bilateral economic ties if Switzerland granted Hungary the same preferential customs it had granted to other countries on a similar level of development.

The Swiss president spoke in terms of appreciation about the Hungarian reforms, and said his government would encourage Swiss businessmen to invest in Hungary and cooperate in production. He welcomed that a monument would be erected in Budapest in the memory of Carl Lutz, the one-time Swiss consul to Hungary, who saved tens of thousands of Jews during the Second World War. Under a former invitation, Mr Delamuraz, in his capacity as the minister of public economy, will visit Hungary next year.

Still in the morning, Karoly Grosz met Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva of Portugal. The sides spoke with satisfaction about the two countries' reviving relations. Last year two Hungarian ministers visited Portugal and some high-ranking Portuguese personalities are expected to come to Hungary in the near future. The joint economic committee is to resume work, and inter-chamber cooperation develop. The sides agreed that the prospects of bilateral relations are encouraging, for which the two countries' similar level of development provides a good basis. Anibal Cavaco Silva pointed out that cooperation between Hungary and Portugal was an important factor of East-West relations. He said that the Hungarian reform process was followed with distinguished sympathy in Portugal. The HSWP general secretary informed his negotiating partner on Hungary's political and economic reforms. The two politicians gave an identical assessment to the CSCE process, the Vienna follow-up meeting, and the importance of the WTO [Warsaw Treaty Organization]-NATO talks on the reduction of conventional armed forces in Europe. The Portuguese prime minister asked whether the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty member states would make further unilateral disarmament steps. Mr Grosz pointed out that the unilateral steps announced so far launched the necessary process, and now the Western side is expected to take similar measures.

Discusses Fate of Reforms

LD2901223489 Budapest MTI in English 2059 GMT 29 Jan 89

[Text] Davos, January 29 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz attended the gala dinner given by Swiss President Jean-Pascal Delamuraz in honour of the high-ranking personalities attending the Davos consultation.

After the dinner, Mr Grosz met Harri Holkeri, Finnish prime minister. The sides appreciated the special Finnish-Hungarian relations but emphasized that the opportunities of developing economic cooperation should be tapped more efficiently. The two politicians discussed the relationship of their countries with the Common Market, and outlined their positions on the Western European integration.

Mr Grosz held talks with Minister-President Lothar Spaeth of Baden-Wurttemberg on the development of cooperation between Hungary and the West German province.

The topics of talks with Jacques Delors, president of the EEC Commisison, included cooperation between Hungary and the Common Market, and the recent bilateral agreement.

Mr Grosz and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, foreign minister of the FRG, assessed the European situation, laying emphasis on the success of the Vienna follow-up meeting. Mr Genscher welcomed that the Warsaw Treaty member states published data on military power relations in Europe. The foreign minister stressed that, within European cooperation, he held it particularly important to guarantee the rights of national minorities.

At the world economic forum, Mr Grosz delivered a paper entitled 'Our Fate, Europe'. His words were followed by a great applause. Mr Grosz was then asked if he held it conceivable for Hungary to join the Common Market. The general secretary said: 'I can conceive it but I'm afraid the Common Market cannot.' In reply to another question, Mr Grosz said that Hungary would advance along the road it had chosen. If Gorbachev's policy meets with eventual difficulties, it will hinder the Hungarian reforms but cannot prevent them.

Karoly Grosz and his entourage are to return to Hungary Monday [30 January] noon.

Roundtable Talks Set To Open 6 Feb in Warsaw

Radio, TV To Air Talks

LD0502221389 Warsaw PAP in English
2120 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 5—Roundtable talks are due to start at the Council of Ministers here at 14:00 hrs Warsaw time Feb. 6. The Polish radio and television are going to beam a broadcast on the inaugural meeting at their prime time on Monday night, it was announced here today.

The Polish radio and television on their first channels Monday are going to air the broadcast at 18:30 Warsaw time, Poland's radio and televison authority disclosed.

The Polish Government press spokesman told PAP that the decision to beam the broadcast was taken during preparatory meetings in view of what he termed society's immense interest in the roundtable debates.

Places at the roundtable will be taken by representatives of various forces which had voiced their willingness to jointly seek ways out of the crisis and lines of further development of this country as well as to develop the Polish model of democracy.

Walesa Rejects Personal Ambitions

LD0302211889 Warsaw PAP in English
1934 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 3—In advance of the roundtable meeting, Lech Walesa said in an interview for KURIER POLSKI among other things:

I will surely not give up pluralism, Solidarity included. Without pluralism all solutions will be ineffective anyway. Even if we were lent 30 billion dollars today, we would waste them in two years' time anyway and everything would start anew.

There are many essential questions as far as our future is concerned, and these obviously include the question of the electoral law. What is more important, though, is to achieve pluralism, that is a possibility to benefit from political freedom that Stalinism took from us away. Only armed with pluralism can we look at elections through different eyes.

I know that 99 per cent will support the concept of reforms for now everybody comes out, should come out for reforms. What may start, though, is some "bargaining": On the part of authorities—to give up as little as possible, on the part of the union—to achieve as much as possible. And so the question remains of whether all this proves possible to reconcile. I reject right away personal ambitions and animosities, I chuck them in the corner. He who is going to be too ambitious should be shown the door with no consideration whatsoever. At the table ambitions will be at stake, but those of Poland alone.

One of the interview's questions was: "General Jaruzelski was given the vote of confidence after a stormy discussion at the 10th plenum concerning liberalization of life in this country. Meanwhile, you said: 'This is too much to die and too little to live....' [quotation marks as received]

Walesa answered: For this is much for a party, for somebody who used to give little for many years. But too little if compared to social expectations. But still, there is something new in this party now, for the first time, even though the situation is not marked by too much pressure the party is making a move. Unprompted. After forty-five years. And this is great. But this is all for today and the party should plan something for tomorrow. The situation should be like this: Solidarity headquarters is already refurbished but for the time being we cannot enter because of "democracy."

Yes, I became a politician. I had to. Historically, it dates back to August 1988 when I had to quell the strike in Jastrzebie. Until then I regarded myself a mouthpiece, I was always on the side of the people. But at that time I had to act as a politician for certain set-ups, certain mechanisms had been set in motion. The game began and one had to give something up for otherwise the effect called agreement would be jeopardized. Yes, just then did I become a politician.

We have not seen each other for a long time because you have not been permitted to call on Walesa. And Walesa is the same only that he has learnt a lot. I also learn from you, even now, while talking. But what I learn most is to compromise, to understand not only the reasons of mine.

Asked what political party he would join if any new parties were formed Walesa said: None.

Were there any attacks on your life? (Q)

I do not fear attack for I fear only God. And my wife spars at me now and then. Seriously speaking, though, I fear provocation on the part of those few guys on both sides who are opposed to reforms.

Walesa Comments Further

LD0302155989 Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish
0638 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Interview with Lech Walesa by Andrzej Trojanowski in Gdansk; from "Baltic Studio" on 2 February—recorded]

[Text] [Trojanowski] What are the hopes and perhaps the fears roused by the talks at the roundtable?

[Walesa] Above all it is a frightening responsibility, because the expectations are great, because we must make a reform based on pluralism, based on freedom; and simultaneously we cannot fall into destruction and anarchy. This is a very difficult connection in these conditions in which we find ourselves. I feel this responsibility; I must spread it to others. I must give access to others, people who—both in their length of career and intelligence—are above me, so that we can take advantage of this chance that is being sketched out, so that we not destroy it.

[Trojanowski] On Tuesday [31 January] you (?already) claimed that 56 places are being prepared at the roundtable. How many places do you count on for Solidarity representatives?

[Walesa] The number is not the point. We have a proportionate number, but that is not the point. The point is what we will do for Poland, in what way we will seek to transfer to pluralism in these main subjects—the economic and the political—in what way we will succeed in this, arrange all of this. The matter is in this and not in the number nor in the size of the table.

[Trojanowski] I know that it is too early to speak of the representation of Solidarity at the roundtable, but could you say what specialists you will invite to the talks?

[Walesa] I will shortly be putting these matters forward at the National Executive Commission, KKW, [of Solidarity], and that is where we will be discussing it. I will take experts to the talks, but also practicing people and activists. And so, this is again a difficult connection as altogether ambitions, responsibility, and understanding are involved. It seems to me, however, that we will succeed in doing this with maximum success, as only possible in these times.

[Trojanowski] How long will the roundtable last?

[Walesa] Not longer than 6 weeks, and it will probably be even shorter.

[Trojanowski] Will elections follow right away?

[Walesa] Regarding the union, then yes we will be in quite a hurry here. On the other hand, regarding these big elections, then this is not our affair, my affair. I can only speak here as Lech Walesa, as a Pole, that I will be observing this subject.

[Trojanowski] Will you be a candidate for a Sejm deputy?

[Walesa] I think that in fact I have not the qualifications, and I am not prepared. To be a deputy one must in fact be rather more involved with the subject. I have had too little of this general work, of some sort, and I lack the professional preparation. I think that there are better people and I shall be looking at others.

[Trojanowski] Are you going to Warsaw as an optimist or as a pessimist?

[Walesa] I am a born optimist. I believe that we have no choice. I believe that we will succeed, that we will succeed in doing a lot. Perhaps a little less, but this must suffice for the satisfaction of Poles.

OPZZ Leader Queried

LD0502152589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Interview with Alfred Miodowicz, Politburo member and OPZZ chairman, in PERSPECTYWY, entitled "Without Intermediaries"; from the "Review of the Weeklies" program]

[Text] PERSPEKTYWY: You said that the trade union is not prepared to adopt the stance on the issue of pluralism. But as the head of the OPZZ, you accepted it calmly.

Alfred Miodowicz: I come from Poznan; my attitude to life is pragmatic. Yes, a great row may now be created under the slogan: not a step backwards. But I believe in the success of the realization of the concept of one trade union representation in a work enterprise.

PERSPEKTYWY: How do you prepare in the OPZZ for the acceptance of a partner? The TV meeting with Lech Walesa was indeed a good introduction, but now one must think of everyday contacts.

Alfred Miodowicz: It would be naive if I did not consider those who, sooner or later, will create a competitive firm. We have had working contact with the activists of the former Solidarity for a year and a half; as a matter of fact, we established them even earlier. Therefore, their great desire to create their own organization did not astonish us. But great haste in taking this political decision has astonished us.

PERSPEKTYWY: You are exaggerating. Not only during the 10th plenum of the party Central Comittee but also in everyday situations one hears objection for such a possibility, after all. Let me recall that several dozen Central Committee members voted against the adoption of the stance on pluralism. Well, a political decision was made after all, and the national Executive Committee, KKW, of NSZZ [independent self-governing trade union] Solidarity in the published statement announced that it is going to start the negotiations, and as soon as possible. Have you received any proposals in this matter?

Alfred Miodowicz: Such negotiations, carried out for some time, have not moved us fgorward, but they allow for explanation of many doubts. KKW, let me remind you, wants the authorities' permission to take up legal activities. When, however, the roundtable talks begin we from the OPZZ will also sit at this table. We will take part in the debates—whether at the roundtable or small

tables—but—I repeat—on the side of the trade unions. If the other group also represents trade union interests, then we will be on the same side. Still we are trying to solve our own problems ourselves. Democratic centralism is not binding within the trade unions, so I cannot order anything to anyone. We have our own team of negotiators, our own position, and we will always talk without any intermediaries.

PERSPEKTYWY That is without whom?

Alfred Miodowicz: Without those whom we have not appointed ourselves.

2,000 Rally in Gdansk

AU0502191989 Paris AFP in English 1915 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] Gdansk, Poland Feb 5 (AFP)—A rally by 2,000 people at Gdansk in support of legalising Poland's banned Solidarity trade union ended on Sunday with a group of youths throwing stones at police and chanting "down with the Communists."

A hard-core of 200 youths began pelting police with stones after a peacful protest, by a crowd carrying pro-Solidarity banners, was ordered to end by local police in the northern shipyard city.

The youths abandoned their violent protest after passers-by persuaded them not to cause a breach of public order on the day before long-awaited "roundtable" talks between Solidarity and the government were due to begin.

The peaceful demonstration ended at the request of police who blocked protesters' way to a monument commemorating those who were killed during riots at the Baltic ports of Gdansk, Szczecin and Gdynia in December 1970.

The march had begun after a mass at the shipyard church of St. Bridget, held by Father Henryk Jankowski, confessor to Solidarity leader Lech Walesa.

Mr. Walesa is due to begin six weeks of talks with the government on Monday and is under intense pressure to win the movement legal status after a ban of more than seven years.

Budapest Radio Interviews Walesa, Rakowski

LD0402233189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 4 Feb 89

[From the "168 Hours" program presented by Akos Mester]

[Text] [Mester] In Poland, the roundtable that was already called off once in November has been set up again. On Monday the meeting which even 6 months ago seemed unlikely, is expected to start. The two most important parties, who in many respects have opposite interests, the government and Solidarity, and other interest groups have been forced to sit side by side because of the stalemate situation and the slow deterioration of the country. From a certain point of view, things have to be continued from where they were broken off in December 1981. From a certain point of view, everybody is wiser or at least they may be wiser than 8 years ago, years that have gone or rather been wasted. In 1981, representing their parties, mainly Walesa and Rakowski talked. Our Warsaw correspondent, Gabor Nemes, met them both. He met Walesa Thursday, in Gdansk.

[Begin recording] [Nemes] Mr President [as heard], what is the minimum and maximum you want to achieve at the roundtable?

[Walesa in Polish with superimposed Hungarian translation] The minimum is to have a roundtable at all. But the possibilities there have to be revealed and utilized to the maximum.

[Nemes] And, concretely, you always say that agreement has to be made. But on what? If Solidarity is legalized, how will you go forward?

[Walesa] No, no today we need a little bit more. We need economic and trade union pluralism and political pluralism; we need to solve these problems in an organized manner. Naturally, this has to be done calmly with the least possible destruction and anarchy. But we also have to start to apply the pluralist achievements of civilized Europe and the world. We have to come to an agreement, at the roundtable, as to how this could be introduced calmly and gradually.

[Nemes] At the roundtable everybody wants to make some sort of political deal. What can you offer the government?

[Walesa] No, no, this is not so. We do not make any kind of deal. We evaluate the political, economic, and other possibillities of the country and, depending on these, we determine the road of progress, the direction of progress. But we do not make deals, no way. Here there is only the possibility for us to argue about what we think is necessary, what the authorities consider possible, and together try to determine the potential for the development of Poland.

[Nemes] If there is some sort of agreement, do you consider it possible for Solidarity members to join the government?

[Walesa] As a private person, yes. After all, we cannot bring people to Poland from the United States or elsewhere since the people of Solidarity, the people of Poland, will be elected. Privately, as a citizen, everybody can participate and they have to participate. But, as an

organization, Solidarity cannot enter the government; it can not accept power. A trade union has to defend the interests of the workers; it cannot be an employer.

[Nemes] What kind of force does Solidarity represent today?

[Walesa] Well, this depends how we define Solidarity. If we define it with the reform than it is stronger than ever. Because now there is interest in reforms among the authorities, too.

[Nemes] And if we look at the organization?

[Walesa] If we take the organization, well, starting from 1982 we introduced pluralism; in that, too, namely thematic economic and political pluralism. Everybody grew on the tree of Solidarity but not everybody feels that they are members of a trade union.

[Nemes] And what is Solidarity to you?

[Walesa] I am of the trade union. The main trend remains trade union but others also originate from this family tree who can begin other kinds of activities. The authorities now try to find other possible motives for the activities of those who came from Solidarity. But the trade union cannot succumb to the embrace of the authorities. That would be a mistake.

[Nemes] Can Solidarity again be as strong as it was in 1981?

[Walesa] It can be even stronger and wiser. Of course, it depends on how we measure strength. If we measure it with wisdom then my answer is yes. If with the number of staff, then it is probably no. But the membership number does not always mean strength. Today we have much more experience. We are stronger, too, because today there is no Brezhnev, instead there is Gorbachev. There was not a suitable climate for reforms then. Nothing was done in your country, either. Today we are stronger with your experience and your reforms, even if the number of our trade union membership is smaller today. But this has to be considered globally. With the facts that Hungary and the Soviet Union have taken the road to reform, and that Gorbachev is here, we are stronger.

[Nemes] But this reform has an enormous social price.

[Walesa] Naturally, it has a price. But everything has to be paid for. This is how it is in this world. [end recording]

[Mester] Our correspondent recently succeeded in interviewing Prime Minister Rakowski. Therefore he, or rather his answers, are reported by Gabor Nemes.

[Begin recording] [Nemes] Comrade Rakowski, you said the last time that Poles are more interested in their own dinner table than in the roundtable. However, because of the roundtable or the agreement with the opposition, you risked a confrontation within the party. Does this mean that without political agreement there will be no economic resurgence?

[Rakowski] No. It is still my opinion that the majority of Poles are interedsted in what is on their table and not on the roundtable. I observe the necessity of the roundtable not in light of the economic situation and the tasks in front of us but in a much wider connection. The thing is that in Poland political structures have to be created that correspond to our age, to today's phase of socialism, because the previous structures have become obsolete. This is why I am interested in the round table. But I bet that even if we succeed in finding some sort of compromise solution it does not mean at all that the Polish political situation will change miraculously, that everybody will start to work, that there will be no strikes, no wage demands. Even Walesa says the same, that from the roundtable itself nothing will improve.

[Nemes] Still, what can the roundtable offer the Polish prime minister?

[Rakowski] I am interested because all political forces sitting at the roundtable should reach an agreement on the conclusion of a new social contract. This, in the next 2 years, will guarantee the country's political development without shocks which endanger its stability.

[Nemes] By shocks do you mean strikes?

[Rakowski] Yes, at the last Central Committee session I said that I would like there to be no strikes in the next 2 years. But I am not at all convinced that anybody will agree to this.

[Nemes] According to Miodowicz, the chairman of the official trade unions, the government wants to conclude an anticrisis pact only to secure opposition support for reducing the standard of living. What is your opinion on this?

[Rakowski] Comrade Miodowicz knows very well that holding back or perhaps reduction of the standard of living is inevitable if we want to get out of the present economic situation. In Poland, either there will be further shocks, strikes, inflation, wage demands, and the economic situation will deteriorate; or we will come to the joint conclusion that certain sacrifices have to be made so that our fate will improve in 2 or 3 years. I am very surprised at those trade union people, according to whom we can pull through this period without any sacrifice. This is not so. Walesa is not one of these people: he says he is ready to make sacrifices.

[Nemes] Yes, this is what Walesa says. What can you offer him?

[Rakowski] Nothing but a warm handshake, which he will have to return. If he calls on his people to make the sacrifices then I can shake his hand and tell him: Mr Walesa, you are a great man. But this is all. What can I offer him? Nothing. I can not say what Churchill did, that i promise only blood, tears, and suffering, but I can say that a great deal of sweat will be needed.

[Nemes] What about the participation of Solidarity members in the government?

[Rakowski] Well, I do not believe that any of them would be willing to take responsibility along with us. They, themselves say that they have no interest in this.

[Nemes] Walesa told me that he has no objection to Solidarity members, but not he himself, joining the government.

[Rakowski] Possibly, but regarding that group they always say they have no interest in participating in the government. I wish that they would join and see for themselves what this entails. But they do not seem the type at all who long for responsibility. It is always more pleasant to criticize from the sidelines. [end recording]

Interviews Solidarity's Michnick

LD0302225189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Preparations are underway for the roundtable of political forces in Poland. On this occasion, our correspondent Gabor Nemes, questioned Adam Michnik, renowned adviser of the Solidarity leader, Walesa. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Nemes] You wrote earlier that you do not see a possibility of this regime changing over to a positive direction.

[Michnick, in Polish with superimposed Hungarian translation] Look, the subtitle of my book written in prison in 1985 was "Tract on Compromise." I wrote that there is no prospect for Poland other than our seeking compromises. However, it is true that I had considerable doubts that this team, that is Jaruzelski-Rakowski, would be able to jump over its own historical shadow, and that it would be willing to open out in the direction of agreement with Walesa, with Solidarity. Here, I really was pessimistic. However, I always said that I would like to be wrong on this point. If the leadership is now able to open out, I am of the opinion that Walesa is proceeding correctly when he seeks compromises with it, and I support Walesa's line.

[Nemes] do you now say, on the basis of what this regime has done so far, that it has changed?

[Michnik] Well, first and foremost, this regime stated through 7 long years that Solidarity did not exist, that there were only a few dozen fanatics who were paid in dollars. Now they say something entirely different. So there is a some kind of change, moreover in a positive direction, toward realities.

However, current issues are distinguished from those 7 years ago, first and foremost, by the new international situation. Something has stirred, not only in the Soviet Union, but in Hungary, Yugoslavia, indeed, even in Czechoslovakia. This is a great chance for our countries; there was no such thing for 30 years. We are facing an entirely new situation, and all of us must learn from the past. I am of the opinion that it would be a mistake to seek the roots for what, in our country, happened in 1980-81, or in your country, Budapest, in 1956, in the crimes of this or that person. A certain system, a system of institutions, was at fault, in which there was no scope for a democratic resolution of conflicts, for compromises. It is necessary to seek institutional reforms, political reforms which open up the path toward a democratic development. [end recording]

Police Disband 'Dissident' Group Meeting

LD0402194489 Hamburg DPA in German 1926 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—A meeting by the dissident right-wing Confederation of Independent Poland was disbanded by police in Warsaw Saturday. The approximately 200 participants from all parts of Poland met for several hours and had accepted a new party statute when police intervened. The group intends to continue its meeting at a different venue.

Jaruzelski Attends Meeting on Party Cooperation

LD0302182189 Warsaw PAP in English 1715 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 3—A meeting of leaders of three allied parties, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Roman Malinowski, and Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak, also attended by PUWP CC Secretary and Political Bureau Member Jozef Czyrek, was held at the seat of the Democratic Party CC here today.

A session followed of the Central Commission for Cooperation of the Polish United Workers' Party, the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party, and the Movements of Lay Catholics and Christians: the PAX Catholic Association, the Christian-Social Union (UCHS), and the Polish Catholic-Social Association (PZKS).

Present were representatives of PUWP: Wojciech Jaruzelski, Kazimierz Barcikowski, Stanislaw Ciosek, Jozef Czyrek, Boguslaw Barcikowski, Stanislaw Ciosek, Jozef Czyrek, Boguslaw Kolodziejczak—representatives of UPP: Roman Malinowski, Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, Bogdan Krolewski, Kazimierz Olesiak, Stanislaw Sliwinski—representatives of DP: Tadeusz W. Mlynczak,

Jerzy Gruchalski, Jan Janowski, Marek Wieczorek, Edward Zglobicki, and Vice-chairman of PAX Zbigniew Czajkowski, Vice-President of UCHS Wiktor M. Leyk, president of PZKS Wieslaw Gwizdz. Also present were chairman of the National Council of the Patriotic movement for National Rebirth (PRON) Jan Dobraczynski, Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, and head of the PUWP CC Socio-Legal Department Andrzej Gdula.

The sides discussed the state of arrangements for roundtable talks, expressing satisfaction at the hitherto progress in preparations. It was underlined that the improvement in political climate favoured the agreement of stances of socio-political forces which are of nation-wide significance. This adds to the process of building national agreement.

It was stated that during the roundtable talks the allied ruling parties and the organizations of Catholics and Christians cooperating with them would present, apart from joint stands on Poland's future, their own, independent suggestions of deep political, social, and economic reforms. The sides underlined that a partner-like dialogue at the roundtable is necessary to obtain progress in all walks of life, expected by Polish society.

Talking about the coming elections to the Sejm (parliament), the sides expressed a conviction that the elections held under the new electoral law should result in a considerable broadening of political representativeness of Polish Parliament.

Rakowski Addresses Group on Economic Strategies

LD0302211989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1810 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] On the 33d day of the current year and the 111th day of the work of Premier Rakowski's government, there was a meeting in Warsaw of a kind not seen for a long time. More than 2,000 directors of the largest enterprises from throughout the country were invited to the Congress hall of the Palace of Culture and Science. The directors were taken away from their work, it's true, but they eagerly accepted their invitations, for the purpose of the meeting was to inform economic management cadres not only about the principles of enterprise operations in 1989, but above all about the government's economic strategy, the directions of the country's development, and the rules of the economic game in the immediate future. Let us hear what Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski said on this subject:

[Begin Rakowski recording] In my opinion, Poland's fate today really lies in your hands and in the hands of your fellow directors and technical cadres because our future depends primarily on what the state of our economy will be. And it is not only the state of the economy, of course, which will depend on your attitude to the public property entrusted to you; social moods also depend on it. One can say, therefore, that the directorial cadre will determine whether there will exist in Poland the social conditions favorable for the implementation of profound and all-around reforms, or whether in the coming years we will stumble from one shock to the next, becoming weaker and weaker from the point of view of the national frame of mind and also from the point of view of the position we can and should occupy in Europe, including in socialist Europe.

In a word, the main responsibility for Poland's further development rests on you, as the heads of enterprises. This is no revelation, in fact, because since the beginning, mankind has had to produce things—to various extents, of course; and how humanity developed, how nations developed, depended on those dimensions of production, on its content, quality, and character.

Of course, moving into a purely Polish context now, whether we move on through strikes or whether we create such conditions, or strive for there to be no strikes—for, as Minister Wilczek, I think, has said, strikes are and will be simply a great misfortune for us in this economic situation—depends on you.

I do not idealize the director's life. I do, however, believe that it is an unusually important professional structure in our system—well, basically in every economic system.

What is our attitude to directors? Well, I would like to say that we will support the directors in every case in which right is on their side. If it is right that you be uncompromising, then you can count on the support of the government and on my support as well. I would like us to try to be consistent in these difficult years. This is our great chance. Let us try to enter the history books of an industrialized, socialist Poland as a structure of decisive, wise, uncompromising people who do not moan. There are possibilities for this. I am very happy with what I have heard here today in several speeches, that is concerning the dose of optimism they contained: in saying "one can", not because someone is demanding that one can but because one simply can, because one is certain of that fact. Of course the centerstage of our attention must belong to the producer, not just as a single unit but also as a collective: I am thinking here of work forces, society, and the nation. I ask you to pay attention to all matters related to care for the working man. From my experiences in the years 1981-85 and currently, it would seem that very often the reason for dissatisfaction at the workplace is really the disregard with which the management or the staff treat the often most simple matters which are part of what we call social care and welfare policy. And it turns out that when conflict breaks out as a result of just this, the causes of this conflict are very quickly dealt with. That means that for months and years we ignore issues that should have been dealt with.

I am an advocate of strong management, but at the same time I advocate concern, full of insight, for each human being. And this is more difficult for me to do—it is easier

for you to do this in the sense that you are working in collectives, in groupings which are better known to you than the whole of society is to me.

As a sidelight on the mood and also, on certain accusations directed against our economic policy—because some of this already exists—or the slogan that I have come across in several places, or also the saying that we are selling out socialism, well, since we are introducing various forms of ownership, we think that sectors ought to be developed. And well, in my opinion, if we are selling out anything, then it is the stupidities which we have carefully been gathering. [applause] I tell you that we are not even selling them off, since no one wants to buy these unrealistic, pie-in-the-sky concepts. We are giving away stupidities for free. If anyone wants to take them, we won't stop them.

I assume that there are sure to be concientious managers here in the hall—but I am being ironic—who are members of the Megat corporation. Are there any? The Megat partnership possesses, joins together 22 enterprises. Well, Minister Wilczek has already spoken here about the fact that these associations will be abolished. I know the history of Megat and I want to remind you of it, in order to show the extent to which we become accustomed to certain situations, which are what I would call unrealistic. Well, when I was deputy premier, I found out at the Zamech Turbine Engineering Works in Elblag that an idea had arisen here in Warsaw of creating Megat. Which year was it? [words indistinct] 1984 or may 1985. Well, and those comrades from Zamech didn't want to come into this Megat association. The manager, who was organizing Megat, said: You will come in on your hands and knees to the cashier's office, since everyone coming in at that time got, I remember, z4,000 per person. And thus, Megat was created, composed of 22 independent firms. Well, after which, times changed and Megat finds itself at the end of the road as an association. I received various letters on the subject of this Megat asking what will happen to it. Well, just imagine, before our eyes, a board of the association arose in which there are 747 posts. Do you understand what this is? One association has 747 posts. Well, the Industry Ministry had 700 people when Minister Wilczek came along.

I give you this as an example, that we still have in our industry, in our structures which operate, a great many impracticable situations, a great many economically unjustified bodies. And you agree to that. You accept it too, in fact. Yes, yes. Instead of shouting out loud on certain matters. We have bureaucratic excesses. You also know how many people are in full-time jobs and don't work in factories. Sportsmen, people like that; people who fill workers' jobs and are office workers. Of course, only economic laws must operate here: but we are also dealing with people who are aware [word indistinct]. One must consciously (?eliminate) what we trip over every day. This is the only thing which keeps me awake at night. Believe me, if we cannot get inflation under control, if wages rise as they are rising, or as they rose last year, because everything (?is) released, all the brakes (?are) released; if the difference between increases in wages and prices widens, in favor of an increase in the amount of money, we will not hold out. Simply, things will start to go badly in Poland again. There is no other way. We have to halt it. Inflation can destroy everything for us, the most beautiful plans we have, the most noble intentions.

I read reports on wage demands and concessions by managements and, I admit it frankly, I am horrified, by the demands and by the concessions. I (?sometimes) wonder where the directors get the money from. Who gives them the money? I know who gives it to them. They simply raise prices. I repeat: We are constantly on the brink of misfortune. We are constantly in a difficult economic situation.

My colleagues have said—I think it was Premier Sekula who said that there's no point in counting on huge credits. That's true. But it's also true that recently interest has been growing in the capitalist countries in our reforms. Recognition for our growth rate has been growing. This creates a suitable situation, suitable conditions for a considerably more active involvement by many Western industrialists and financiers in our economy, on one condition: that in the next few months we prove that this economy can develop without shocks; that there is, simply social calm in Poland. This is the essential condition for involvement by Western firms in Poland. I appeal once again: I appeal to you to be uncompromising when there are no reasons to compromise and, further, if there are possibilities to increase wages, for example, they should be raised when you think it is essential, not when you are up against the wall.

Why is it that suddenly one can raise wages, and before it was not possible? What kind of philosophy is that? Director Karbowniczek was speaking about optimism, and that made me very happy, for I will tell you straight out that I want to be an optimist, I want to be an optimist and I am sick and tired of the fact that I keep coming across people, especially here in Warsaw, who know—before anything happens—that it cannot succeed.

Just lately in the Sejm, in the corridors of the Sejm, I was stopped by a certain deputy and she started to speak in just such a way: Is it the right thing to do, will we manage to do it, will it be possible? Whatever newspaper I pick up some economist or another, or someone like that, is saying that it can't possibly work. And in the end a man is surrounded by nothing but moans and whining or else bemoaning the lot of those who are governing or have some sort of power in their hands—lamenting that they are the unfortunate victims of the course of history—they have started on something which cannot come to a successful conclusion. One can't live like that, surely one can't live like that. I must tell you that I thank you for the fact that today this hall was so lively and there were so few moans today. I know, of course, that you haven't got it easy, either. But I leave today with that pinch of

optimism, and I know that I don't even have to appeal to you to try, with us, to prove to yourselves and to others—to those who watch us—that we are capable of success.

To my mind if we look at Poland from a bird's eye view, with the necessary distance, we really do have a great chance to find a way out of this crisis, or to eliminate its results—perhaps that is a more sensible and precise way of putting it. We really do have such a chance. But we do have to free ourselves of this oppression of inability, this inability that so many people in Poland like to carry round with them.

I know that you are practical people, that you don't have too much time for such musings about this inability, and that's a good thing. I would like it if we could, in a couple of years' time, come back to this very room and come to the conclusion that we managed it after all. After all the Polish nation has been more than once, in situations which were far more difficult than the present one—and yet it still made it. [end recording]

Urban's 31 Jan News Conference Published

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["Transcript" of news conference given by government spokesman Jerzy Urban in Warsaw on 31 January]

[Text] On Tuesday, 31 January, Minister Jerzy Urban gave his customary news conference for foreign and Polish journalists. On this occasion the government spokesman only answered questions. The transcript of the conference appears below.

Leszek Kubiak, PAP: Mr Minister, have Solidarity activists at Magadalenka obtained agreement to have their union legalized?

Urban: Views have moved closer together there on the subject of arriving at union pluralism—including the legalization of Solidarity—which is linked to the broader evolution of political relations and the accord process, which includes bringing the elections forward. However, concrete conditions and methods for arriving at union pluralism will be discussed at the "roundtable" and by one of the teams that it will produce.

Dag Halvorsen, Norway: I would just like to ask if the minister knows how the media will be kept informed about the "roundtable" when it is in progress?

Urban: The media will be kept informed about the "roundtable." However, the way in which this will be done is still to be agreed on by the two sides.

Jerzy Gonczarski, EXPRESS WIECZORNY: Solidarity activists say that the participation of Kuron and Michnik in the "roundtable" has ceased to be a source of contention. Is this really the case?

Urban: During the talks at Magdalenka the positions of the authorities and part of the opposition moved closer together. We would like the attitude, and the process of moving closer together resulting from it, to cover as large a part of the opposition as possible. Currently, I am reading the relatively moderate-sounding statements made by Kuron and Michnik to Western radio stations and the Western press, but it is difficult for me to weigh precisely the extent to which their views have developed.

Alma Kadragic, ABC: Mr Minister, various rumors have recently been circulating in Poland concerning the death of one priest a few days ago and the death of another priest yesterday. There are rumors about some conspiracy, a plot directed at Catholic priests. I would like you to tell us what you know about this subject and what the investigations into the deaths of Father Niedzielak and Father Suchowolec have uncovered?

Urban: There are no grounds for supposing that someone is traveling about Poland killing priests or that there is a conspiracy aimed at priests. Both these tragic, regrettable events, are the subjects of separate investigations. There is no basis for hypothesizing or conjecturing that this is some kind of political provocation. However, in both cases, every possible hypothesis is being taken into account and every line of inquiry is being pursued.

In the case of Father Niedzielak, an intensive investigation is in progress, and at this stage of the investigation it would be difficult to provide a version of the events that occurred, because every such account would be premature. The person leading the investigation is not rejecting any hypothesis in advance. At the moment, detailed expert examinations are being carried out. Enzyme and dactyloscopic analyses are being conducted—the Warsaw Medical Academy is involved—and witnesses are being questioned. So far, it has not been possible to confirm signs of a struggle. So, it is unlikely that a fatal blow was delivered, because it would have left marks on external tissue, that is, on an appropriate place on the body. The first communique put forward the hypothesis of a robbery, because that is what could be conjectured on the basis of the preliminary examination. At this moment in time, I will not get involved in any hypotheses or conjectures, so as not to make any statements in this official capacity until the investigation is completed and the mysterious circumstances of the death are cleared up.

Concerning the death of Father Suchowolec in Bialystok. So far, the investigation has established that the sound of a television or video-recorder was heard late at night and that at 0100 the priest, who later died, let his dog out of the presbytery. So, it has been established that he was still alive late at night. At about 0500 in the morning the housekeeper noticed a burning smell coming from the priest's bedroom and she sounded the alarm. The door of the bedroom, which had been locked from the inside, was broken down. There was quite a lot of smoke in the room. Father Suchowolec was found lying next to the

couch. A dead dog, according to the description, was found lying at his feet. The windows of the room were closed. Soot was found around the windows and door. It is possible that the electrical wiring caught fire. This might have caused the smell, the house is made of wood, there are stoves in it, which has nothing to do with the wiring, but it was established that the lights were not working. In the morning the circuitry in the presbytery was not functioning. Representatives of the local bishop's office and a lawyer will take part in the investigation. The body is being examined at the Forensic Medicine Center in Bialystok. An autopsy will be performed today. The investigation will be conducted under the supervision of the voivodship prosecutor's office in Bialystok. The preliminary investigation indicates that death resulted from asphyxiation, but those are just preliminary results. As for the rumors that Father Suchowolec had received threats from somebody, I can say that this was never reported to any law-enforcement agency. I have a REUTER report here that describes the two priests as being murdered by unknown persons and links this to the fact that their names appeared on a list of 150 priests who are considered to be extremists by the PPR authorities. I object to this sensational treatment of these tragic events. One should not prejudge the results of the investigation by saying that both or one of the priests were murdered, and the list of priests deemed to be extremists is pure fantasy.

Tadeusz Zakrzewski, Television News: More and more is being said about the possibility of establishing a second chamber of parliament, as well as creating the office of president. Amendments would have to be made to the Constitution for this to be possible. Are there any fixed time limits concerning this issue?

Urban: One can expect the Constitution to be amended before the elections. The amendments might also cover certain provisions of the Constitution concerning the elections themselves, the selection of candidates being one possible example.

Viktor Shupkevich, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, USSR: Mr Minister, we have recently seen differences of opinion emerging between the OPZZ and the government, and even between the OPZZ and the political leadership. In your opinion, are these just passing differences, or will they become more profound?

Urban: I suppose that differences connected with the whole area of issues connected with union pluralism, ways of bringing about union pluralism, the 10th plenum and "roundtable" subject matter are of a temporary kind. It is envisaged that the OPZZ will participate extensively in the "roundtable," that the OPZZ will thus be a participant in consensus, and I hope that the agreement that will be reached will also include the OPZZ.

I admit that I find the differences between the OPZZ and the government on economic matters more disturbing. Quite simply, I recently collected together all the recent resolutions passed by OPZZ organs, and it has to be said that these resolutions set demands without in any way describing where the resources for satisfying all these OPZZ demands are to come from. There is one issue on which the government and the OPZZ are in agreement. Speaking on behalf of the OPZZ, Alfred Miodowicz said: "We are fighting for an 8-hour work day." The government is also fighting for an 8-hour work day in Poland. The actual amount of time spent working, including overtime, by workers in state industry amounted to 36 hours a week in 1987, and last year the average was even lower. The shift index for 1987 was 1.26, and last year it also fell. This means that equipment and machinery are being used to an insufficient degree. In those branches of industry that are at the forefront of technological progress, namely, electronics and precision engineering, the shift index is less than one, which means that it is working less than one shift.

In light of this information, one should indeed fight for an 8-hour working day, because it would increase output and, as a result, increase the supply of goods to the market and reduce inflation.

The government is being attacked not only by the side that represents the OPZZ line. The Polish press is also commencing an attack of a different kind. I have in front of me a periodical called GROMADA ROLNIK POLSKI [POLISH FARMER'S COMMUNITY] of 22 January, in which an article written by Zbigniew Lubak says that the Rakowski government is once again inconsistent in implementing the economic reform and doing nothing to heal the country's financial situation. Lubak accuses the authorities of fearing an economic shock among society, and that Poland must be rescued even at the risk of such a shock. Generally speaking, he calls for a harsher reform policy, without regard to social claims and without regard to defending the present standard of living.

I would like to ask Zbigniew Lubak what he understands by economic shock, and what it is he wants us to do. For he says: The authorities were not afraid of a shock when they imposed martial law, and now they are afraid. I am quoting this in order to show how varied criticism of the government is. As we know, the government is following a middle course; in other words, implementation of the reforms as fast as possible, coupled with efforts to prevent these reforms from having an impact on the standard of living.

Andrew Tarnowski, REUTER: As far as the death of Father Suchowolec is concerned, I wish to say with all due respect that, in the English versions of REUTER dispatches at least, the word "murdered" never occurred. His death has not been described as a murder. However, my question is: Several times, the government has lent expression to its fears that acts of violence may

occur, caused by anticommunist, extremists groups who are against the signing of an accord during the "roundtable." Because there is a strong opposition inside the establishment [English word used] to the signing of an accord with "Solidarity," does the government not fear violence on the part of this opposition? Perhaps there are some groups that have not yet been considered a possible source of this violence?

Urban: I have based my information on a Radio France International Polish-language program that was broadcast on 30 January on 1830, and which said that according to REUTER, Father Suchowolec celebrated mass in honor of Poland in Bialystok and conveyed information to the "Solidarity" Intervention, Law, and Order Commission. According to REUTER, the name of Father Suchowolec and that of Father Niedzielak, murdered by unknown perpetrators 9 days ago, is still on the list of 150 priests considered by the PPR authorities to be extremists. Father Suchowolec also used to receive warning letters, and was sometimes accompanied by a bodyguard. I do not know which REUTER dispatch this was, and in what language. However, there is no doubt that putting true and invented facts together creates the impression that we are dealing with crimes.

Acts of violence and political provocation are possible in Poland, just like in any other country. We had such a dramatic and tragic case of political provocation several years ago. Nevertheless, Poland is a country where such episodes are exceptionally rare on a historical scale. One cannot rule out political provocation from various sides, from people with an extremist philosophy, but there is nothing to indicate that political motives were involved in these acts of violence.

As far as a climate of political provocation is concerned, there are right-wing radical extremist groups that are encouraging such an atmosphere. I have in front of me a document signed by some unknown group named "Reduta", bearing a symbol with an eagle inside a crown and a cross. This document, which has been distributed here and there, relates to Central Committee Secretary Miller's meeting with young people at the Central Committee headquarters. Without attaching any importance to this document, I would like to quote from it in order to convey the kind of atmosphere created by it: "For the first time in 40 years, red bandits from the PZPR have opened the doors of their evil den, known as the Central Committee, to young people. My interlocutor from the Polytechnical School considered this meeting a farce. In their insolence, they held this meeting not in a conference hall, but in the cafeteria, which I think offended the young guests very much. What is worse, the boor who conducted the meeting had his hands in his pockets all the time, until his tactless behavior was pointed out. These were red murderers from the PZPR, at the service of the Soviet KGB," and so on and so forth. Of course, this is not worth quoting, because it is not the text we are concerned with, but the atmosphere generated by it, which could lead to extreme deeds.

Stanislaw Blaszczyk: Where is the "roundtable" being set up? How many people will sit at it, and who will be the chairman?

Urban: The "roundtable" will take place at the Palace of the Council of Ministers on Krakowskie Przedmiescie Street, historically known as the Namiestnikow Palace.

Places for 56 people are being prepared at the "roundtable." It will not be just a meeting between two sides, between the authorities and the opposition. The political composition of this meeting reflects the principle of broad pluralism. These will be multilateral talks.

The composition of the "roundtable" is still being decided upon. Because of the many shades of opinion involved, that is a very difficult thing to do. Who is doing the choosing? No one. The choice is being made by consensus; in other words, the "roundtable" composition is gradually being agreed on by means of talks.

There is no problem of chairmanship. The "roundtable" will arrive at decisions not by means of voting, but by means of a gradual move toward an accord and consensus. Therefore, the role of the person chairing the talks will be confined to keeping order and indicating who may speak. Perhaps this role will be performed by someone who is relatively neutral. But people may take turns to act as chairman.

Anderzej Namrocki, Polish Radio first program: I know this sounds like a paradox, but do you not think that the independent and self-managing trade unions belonging to the OPZZ may turn out to be the most controversial partners during the "roundtable"?

Urban: Of course they may.

Debbie Seward, AP: Yesterday, PAP released a Supreme Court ruling whereby trade unions may use any name they want, including "Solidarity." If a trade union with a name containing this word applied to be registered today, would the registration be approved?

Urban: I know the Supreme Court ruling only from the press. Our lawyers have not examined the original text of the court ruling and the explanation. Therefore I cannot say anything about it. Of course, the Supreme Court is the highest authority, if indeed it was qualified to issue a ruling in this particular case, and not the Constitutional Tribunal. I am not sure which of these two is qualified to deal with cases like this. Before acquainting itself with the Supreme Court ruling, the government adopted a stance based simply on the practical directives of the under secretary of state for labor, distributed to enterprise managers, and explaining that the present legal ruling was still in force, and that one should adhere to this ruling because the problem of "Solidarity" will not be settled until the "roundtable" begins, and that it will be examined together with other matters. The labor

under secretary also explained that trade union pluralism depends on the reaching of more general accords and other matters. Therefore, one should not recognize faits accomplis that forestall a final accord. I am not sure whether the government's legal bodies will take a stance on the Supreme Court ruling. Perhaps they will realize that procedures in these matters are so drawn out that the "roundtable" may establish a final solution before anyone else, and then the whole topic will become out of date.

Monika Olejnik, Polish Radio, Channel 3: Mr Minister, could you discuss for Channel 3 pay raises for health service employees, as doctors are becoming increasingly impatient, which is evidenced by the banners that have appeared in hospitals, and want to know how the high the increases will be at least by 5 February. I know that the Sejm is in session and that consultations are to be held on this subject on 3 February, but evidently this is not enough for doctors and other health service employees?

Urban: I would say that the government is not in a position to solve matters relating to individual groups of employees paid out of the state budget at a time when it has submitted proposals concerning general principles to the Sejm. As we know, these general rules envisage that employees paid out of the budget will receive wages averaging 106 percent of average wages in the material production sphere by 1992? In view of the fact that they currently average 80 percent of wages in the material production sphere, this represents an enormous jump. These changes in the wages structure in Poland have to be introduced gradually. This year, the index for the state budget sphere is to amount to 97 percent, which represents an increase of about 17 percent in relation to last year. This is not only a question of raising wages, but also of shifting the balance between the budget and production spheres. According to government proposals, wages levels in the health service are to reach 104 percent of average wages in the material production sphere by the target year of 1992. The situation with respect to education is similar. This already has a significant impact on this year. There is nothing that can be speeded up. We know that the actual wage increase will be made retroactive to 1 January. The Sejm must approve these government proposals. After all, these things affect the budget. Applying pressure is not an effective approach at present. We understand the impatience of health service workers, but we are trying to regulate this in a general way. However, some of the resolutions issued by health service unions organizations calling for everyone to be awarded the same amount are disturbing. The government will definitely not be deciding who gets what in terms of wages. It will not being doing what governments once did, that is, determining exactly how much everyone is to get. However, it is definitely a matter of establishing a wages system in every department that links wages to, in the case of the health service, for example, the welfare of patients, appropriate differences connected with qualifications, the amount of work performed, and to the entire system connected with the reform of the health service. There is no question of there being any kind of wage leveling, and so these indices do not mean that every health service will receive the average: Some will get more and other will receive less.

Matti Hoviseppa, Finland: I have two questions. First, what is the government's position on the proposal to hold the Sejm elections earlier than planned, in May or June of this year, for example?

Urban: The government supports the idea of bringing forward the elections to rapidly consummate the marriage that is to be concluded at the "roundtable" and to base public and state life in Poland on broader pluralist political foundations.

It is not necessarily the case that the course of events has to be such that preparations for the elections, the development of union pluralism, and other important facts will only become possible once the "roundtable" session is over.

The talks will take place in groups. At a certain point it might transpire that the degree of agreement that has been reached will facilitate certain moves although the "roundtable" is still in progress. For example, it might turn out that consensus is being reached on elections, that an accord commission is being established.

Steps to bring forward the introduction union pluralism could be taken when agreement on this and other matters has reached an appropriate stage, although some questions that require further discussion might remain. All these things can develop in different ways. We want to speed up the attainment and implementation of accord on various matters, because that its what most of society wants.

Matti Hoviseppa: My second question is as follows: On Saturday [28 January] Lech Walesa said that Solidarity does not intend to become a political party, but only a trade union, and as it will not be a political party, it will not seek a place in the Sejm. Nevertheless, I would like to know how many places the constructive opposition can expect to have in the Sejm?

Urban: The question is premature. It will be the subject of talks on reaching agreement. At the moment, the opposition is one of the groups that is going to take a seat at the "roundtable" and only the future will show what part of the opposition will become involved in creating trade unions and what part of it, in line with its natural aspirations, will find room for activity in the political sphere and in parliament.

Jerzy Gonczarski, EXPRESS WIECZORNY: I would like to assure myself that what you said about proposals for the composition of the "roundtable" means that places have not been allocated yet. If they have already been allocated, then what is the distribution like?

Urban: This question is also premature. Places are being allocated, indeed to some extent this has already been completed, but as this is still the subject of talks, I cannot inform you about specific stages.

Zouher Saba'a EL DEAR [name and paper as published], Syria: Mr Minister, yesterday a meeting took place between the government and the OPZZ at the Office of the Council of Ministers. Could you provide us with more detailed information on what was discussed, apart from what has already appeared in the press?

Urban: Representatives of the OPZZ Executive Committee primarily set out their position with respect to economic issues pertaining to the standard of living and the latest resolutions dealing with this question passed by various OPZZ organs. The representatives of the government sought to explain the principles of our policies. In the opinion of the members of the government presidium, these government explanations were convincing. I am not sure whether the people who listened to these explanations are of the same opinion. The information released on the course of the talks, which was agreed jointly, stresses the need to maintain partner-like relations between the government and the trade unions. The government firmly accepts the principle that justified employee interests have to be taken into consideration in implementing the economic reforms.

Roman Dembecki, INTERPRESS: Mr Minister, you said that certain political decisions would be made during the "roundtable." In that case, I would like to ask how long the "roundtable" will last?

Urban: It is hard to say. We would like it to last as short a time as possible. We are, in general, short of time in Poland, so we do not have time for lengthy discussions. We want to bring forward the Sejm elections. This calls for appropriate decisions, including decisions concerning the electoral code. These decisions should be agreed fairly quickly, because they will provide the basis for drawing up appropriate pieces of legislation and setting the election schedule in motion. Elections cannot be held overnight, certain dates have to observed.

As far as the elections are concerned, the "roundtable" should provide them with a foundation. This foundation could be provided by bringing to the fore and defining what is of common importance to the majority of Poles and reaching agreement in this respect.

Michal Malczon, TASS: You have just come back from Moscow, where you held a news conference and a series of meetings. Which of these meetings do you think were the most valuable and interesting? Can one say that such an exchange of experiences between the Polish and Soviet government spokesmen will be permanent?

Urban: It is very difficult to assess these meetings and say which of them were the most valuable. The news conference ought to have been the most interesting meeting as far as the Soviet and foreign journalists who came to the press center are concerned. However, there were no penetrating questions about Polish affairs. I think my interview for PRAVDA, a very long one, was more interesting. I was told that this interview was recorded, so that a transcript could be made. My talks in the Soviet Foreign Ministry on the subject of the new phenomena in mutual information policy were also interesting. A lot has to be changed in this sphere as far as relations between the socialist countries, including between Poland and the Soviet Union, are concerned. For example, one should not be offended by articles that express criticism, and one should not use diplomatic intervention. One should conduct polemics in the press, not within the four walls of an office. Generally speaking, my 3 days in Moscow revealed a great amount of interest in the changes in Poland, which are quite a surprise to an outside observer. I noticed a desire to comprehend the basis and origin of the line of policy that was worked out at the 10th plenum. I went to Moscow at a good time, when Poland appears as an interesting country where a lot of interesting things are happening. Judging from the questions I was asked, I do not think there was any sign of mistrust. Instead, it looks as if my interlocutors were influenced by an attitude of openness toward everything that is being done in other countries in order to change the nature and structure of public and state life, everything connected with changes to the socialist system. I invited my Soviet colleague to visit Poland in order to exchange experiences.

Stefan Dietrich, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG: Could you tell us how much parole the murderers of Father Popieluszko enjoy, or, to be more exact, how much time they spend outside prison?

Urban: I know nothing about vacations. I have already said that they are all in prison and serving their sentences.

Zbigniew Satala, GAZETA KRAKOWSKA: You have spoken today about the government's intention to preserve the standard of living. How can the government do so if Premier Rakowski is calling for an end to wage pressure, which is justified, on the one hand, and prices are soaring on the other hand?

Urban: It is not only prices that are soaring. Wages are also growing, but not soaring. Last year, wages went up 13 points more than prices. That would be a good thing were it not for the fact that the result of this state of affairs is long lines in front of of shops and an absence of goods, circumstances that do not improve one's way of life. Therefore, what we want is for wages and prices to increase at the same rate and as closely in line with an increase in output as possible. In other words, we neither want the general standard of living to fall, nor inflation to rise. We want inflation to fall, and we want market supplies to improve, not deteriorate. It is very difficult to attain all these goals at the same time, in other words, curb inflation, develop production, implement the reforms, preserve the

standard of living, and improve the market situation. It is especially difficult at a time when we want to reform the whole of economic life. We believe our proposals are so well coordinated that they ought to succeed.

Christopher Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES: I have a question about a legal problem. We have a situation where "Solidarity" is still banned, but is nevertheless talking to the authorities and to the minister of internal affairs, and will take part in the "roundtable,"—and all this while it is still banned. It is possible that members of this union will join the Sejm while it is still banned. At the same time, we have political parties like the Confederation for an Independent Poland, which is considered illegal, and therefore cannot hold a news conference. That is what officials from the Security Service have told us. But what if this party takes part in the "roundtable"? As far as the law is concerned, anyone at all can take part. Could you explain?

Urban: There is no legal muddle. Representatives of "Solidarity," which has not been made legal yet, will quite simply sit down at the "roundtable " and discuss the procedure, schedule, and conditions for making "Solidarity" legal. The exchange of words in this hall cannot take the place of the "roundtable." Persons representing various paths of thought are being invited to the "roundtable," and that is the formula. However, the KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] is an illegal organization because it openly questions the constitutional legal order and rejects the idea of accords with the ruling camp. Instead, it wants to fight this camp. If the KPN altered its line and changed its attitude toward the Polish state, which exists in reality, and if it accepted the legal order and adopted a desire to aim toward an accord, then it could become a partner of the authorities in accordance with the principle that it does not matter where one comes from, what matters is his attitude. Then it would be possible for the KPN to avail itself of the chance of legalization presented by the associations act.

Stanislaw Lopuszanski, INTERPRESS: Today's GLOS SZCZECINSKI carries a speech by Stanislaw Miskiewicz, first secretary of the Szczecin Voivodship PZPR Committee and chairman of the PZPR Central Committee Maritime Commission, in which he says: "I am convinced that the posture adopted by the authorities is clearly in defense of Poland's interests, but society is still accusing us of a lack of decisive action. The main reason for this opinion is vague and insufficient information released to the public. We do not have to hide what Poland is doing. An open presentation of the Pomeranian Bay problem is also important because it may prevent a repetition of past mistakes." Could you comment?

Urban: Deputy Miskiewicz, representing Szczecin and heading the Szczecin party committee, reflects the concern of people living in that area of the coast who wish to see an end to the Polish-GDR dispute over the Pomeranian Bay. In other words, he has expressed natural impatience. Society indeed feels a shortage of honest information about the talks, but what can be done about it? Progress has clearly been made in the talks. Both sides are in favor of joint declarations about these talks, including a declaration following the Wroclaw meeting between the leaders of both countries. These declarations would lay down the principles by which the conflict will be resolved; in other words, rules governing free access to Polish ports. We cannot satisfy Polish and GDR society's curiosity about how the talks will be held, because such talks cannot be conveyed via the press, nor can they take place during a heated atmosphere. There are many issues between two countries that require private talks, especially ones that involve highly complicated legal concepts that are meaningless to anyone who is not versed in maritime law. There is a chance of settling this issue by means of talks, and this chance must be taken. When Deputy Miskiewicz mentioned past errors, he probably meant the 1968 agreement about a demarcation of the shelf of land in the Pomeranian Bay, an agreement that does not conform to present international law. This agreement is quite simply out of date. When Poland signed it in 1968, no one in Poland thought about a 12-mile stretch of coastal waters. Therefore, I do not think the deputy was right to talk about past mistakes, because an extension of these coastal waters was unforeseeable.

Tadeusz Kucharski, TIME: Mr Minister, would you like to provide more extensive information on the reasons for the Sejm commission's rejection of the government report on the use of special powers?

Urban: The reason for the rejection was that the Sejm commission wanted to know what effect the moves made by the governments on the basis of the extraordinary powers, that is, Messner's and Rakowski's governments, had had. Our response was that we understand the commission's position, but that an analysis of the effects requires rather more time and that we will provide the Sejm with the findings once they have been completed.

Marek Kassa, Polish Radio: There is still a question that I would like to ask about the "roundtable." Namely, can one expect the outcome of the "roundtable" to produce some additions to the composition of the government?

Urban: No, one cannot expect this to happen, because the "roundtable" is not a body that creates governments, it does not take part in the formation of governments. The "roundtable" should bring forward the new elections and produce a new Polish parliament based on broader political pluralism. The creation of a government or the reorganization of a government is a matter for a future parliament, and not for the "roundtable." The purpose of the "roundtable" is to produce agreements concerning political conditions, including conditions for the elections, and basing them on broader pluralism involving various institutions and organizations that operate publicly and take part in elections. In

a word, to put it more simply, the "roundtable" is to produce a parliament and the government that the new parliament will select is its sacred, sovereign right and its exclusive affair.

Janusz Grochowski, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI: Mr Minister, the draft budget law submitted to the Sejm by the government has prompted many comments from deputies. What will come of the law now? Will the government take account of the observations made by members of parliament, and if so, to what extent?

Urban: The government is carefully examining the views expressed by deputies. Some will be taken into account and others will not. The Sejm, as an institution, has the final say, because it is never possible to take account of all the views, which tend in various directions, voiced by deputies. For example, the planned budget deficit is the target of criticism. However, the government is continuing to look for ways and means of reducing the deficit, by both making economies and increasing revenue. However, there are certain conflicts of interest in this respect. How can we increase the wages of people paid out of the budget and simultaneously reduce the size of the budget? How can society be shielded from excessive increases in the prices of basic commodities while simultaneously reducing the budget that provides these subsidies?

Andrew Tarnowski, REUTER: Mr Minister, do you have any information on the level of wage pressure in enterprises, and can you tell us whether there have been any work stoppages?

Urban: No, I do not have figures on wage pressure, because these figures no longer turn up in Warsaw. This is an effect of the economic reform and enterprise self-management. We may record by how much wages have grown in a given period of time. However, we do not record what is happening in every enterprise, as enterprises run their own operations, and pay as much as they want to and can. We only tax and will to continue tax wages when they exceed what constitutes rational management of an enterprise. As for stoppages, there are stoppages, there are stoppages that could even be called wildcat strikes, and they are generally short. I get reports on them daily. I could provide examples, but there are no events that could really stand out. If there is a strike and the press reports it that is when public attention focuses on it. I would like you to appreciate that there are many very different events of this kind. People in some department stop work, hold a meeting, and issue demands for higher wages. A director arrives, explains the situation, and they return to work. There are very many events of this kind every day.

In general, I can say that the government finds this wave of wage demands deeply disturbing. In many plants these demands have a justified basis in poor management, delays in making payment to which employees are entitled, and the unjust distribution of bonuses. However, in more general terms, there is a certain climate of demands for higher wages that is disturbing in that it would threaten to wholly disrupt equilibrium in the economy this year if it were to become more intense. For 3 months of last year official prices did not rise. This year prices have been growing moderately so far, whereas as wages grew very significantly in the final quarter of last year, when prices did not grow. As a result, the growth in wages significantly outstripped the growth in prices last year. If there is a growing wave of wage claims in this situation, then at least part of it will subside once the genuinely serious problem of the standard of living of people paid out of the budget is resolved. However, this climate might become more intense over the course of the year and lead to an increase in inflation, including the need to increase prices above the projected index, because output is not going to grow rapidly and miraculously. In the next few days, this issue will be examined at a meeting between, among others, the premier, the state economic leadership, and the directors of large industrial plants.

Krzysztof Bobinksi: Could you tell us in more detail about what you mean by very many and can you pick out some trend in these reports that you receive daily? Are the plants small or large? Are they in small or in large towns? Do they occur in any particular branches of industry, or do they occur throughout the economy?

Urban: They occur in both small and large plants, and very different kinds of towns. I do not have an analysis of the stoppages, and if I were to produce one myself, it would be based on everyday impressions obtained from the reports. The wave of demands runs across a whole range of branches of industry. For example, construction workers are protesting about government plans to change the way in which they are paid for working abroad. Demands are being made by municipal transportation workers, employees in the health service, education, and these, in my opinion, should disappear fairly quickly. Nevertheless, demands are being issued in a great many different kinds of enterprises, and often in parts of enterprises. I would ask you to simply read the papers.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 25-31 Jan

AU0302122689

[Editorial Report] The Polish press monitored from 26 January to 1 February reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Wojciech Jaruzelski, Czeslaw Kiszczak, and Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski attended an annual conference of the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs on 25 and 26 January. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Jan 89 p 2)

Tadeusz Olechowski and Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski attended a New Year's meeting with foreign journalists accredited in Poland on 25 January. (Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Jan 89 p 2)

Kazimierz Barcikowski, Tadeusz Olechowski, and Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski received outgoing Hungarian Ambassador Gyorgy Biczo on 27 January. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28-29 Jan 89 p 2)

Stanislaw Ciosek and Marian Orzechowski held a meeting with a group of Central Committee lecturers on 25 January, in order to discuss the tasks stemming from the 10th PZPR Congress. (Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Jan 89 p 2)

Stanislaw Ciosek and Alfred Miodowicz attended and spoke at the OPZZ Council session on 26 January. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Jan 89 p 2)

State Council Chairman Wojciech Jaruzelski received Zbigniew Gertych, PPR ambassador to Great Britain, on 31 January. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Feb 89 p 2)

Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member and State Council deputy chairman, received a delegation from the "Spolem" Consumer Cooperative on 25 January. (Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Jan 89 p 2)

Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, received Italian Ambassador Vincenzo Manno and Lao Ambassador Nouxay Sithixay on 25 January. (Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Jan 89 p 2)

Iwona Lubowska, Politburo member, met with the party aktivs and staff of the Bielsko-Biala branch of Lodz Polytechnic on 26 January. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Jan 89 p 2) She attended a meeting at the "Matalplast" construction elements plant in Bielsko-Biala on the subject of the 10th plenum resolution on 29 January. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Jan 89 p 2)

Zbigniew Michalek, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, received a group of young farmers at the PZPR headquarters in Warsaw on 26 January. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Jan 89 p 2) He attended a joint plenum of the Przemysl Voivodship PZPR and ZSL Committees in Przemysl on 29 January. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Jan 89 p 4) He attended a conference on agricultural problems at the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw on 31 January. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Feb 89 p 2)

Marian Orzechowski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, met with party aktivs of Radom Voivodship on 26 January. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Jan 89 p 2) He attended the 12th congress of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society on 27 January. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28-29 Jan 89 p 3)

Janusz Kubasiewicz, Politburo candidate member, attended a report-back conference of PZPR Warsaw District committees at the Ministry of Internal Affairs on 30 January. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Feb 89 p 2)

Leszek Miller, Central Committee secretary, attended a meeting of the Polish Women's League on 26 January. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Jan 89 p 2) He attended the report-back conference of the Zyrardow PZPR Committee in Zyrardow on 28 January. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Jan 89 p 4) He attended a meeting at the Belchatow power station on 30 January, to discuss the issue of workers' dormitories. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Jan 89 p 2)

Marian Stepien, Central Committee secretary, received a delegation representing Polish publishing houses on 30 January, to discuss the difficult economic situation of the publishing industry. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Jan 89 p 2)

Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski received outgoing Hungarian Ambassador Gyorgy Biczo on 26 January. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Jan 89 p 2)

Radulescu Appointed Machine Building Minister
AU0402154589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1048 GMT 4 Feb 89

["For the Record"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 4/2/1989—Under a presidential decree, Alexandru Rosu, minister of the machine-building industry, was released from office. Eugen Radulescu was appointed minister of the machine-building industry.

Gusa, Catargiu Elected as Assembly Deputies
AU2901184389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1645 GMT 29 Jan 89

[From the press review]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 29/1/1989—The newspapers report the meetings held in one constituency in Bucharest and in one constituency in Petrosani municipality (Hunedoara County) for the nomination of candidates for the election of two deputies to the Grand National Assembly [GNA], when Major General Stefan Gusa, member of the CC of the RCP, first deputy minister of national defence, chief of staff, and Irimie Catargiu, member of the CC of the RCP, minister of mines, were proposed and approved as candidates.

Bobu Writes Article on Party's Leading Role
AU2601130989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1219 GMT 26 Jan 89

["RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu's Contribution to the Continuing Strengthening of the Leading Role of The Party"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 26/01/1989—An article in SCINTEIA of 26 January by Emil Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, emphasises the remarkable merits of the RCP general secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu, in the stronger assertion of the leading role of the party as the nation's vital centre. Below is a summary of this article.

The Romanian Communist Party, Emil Bobu writes, owes its first programme—a true ideological and political charter—to the creative initiative of its general secretary, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. Under the impact of his thought, the limitative view of the party as just an avantgarde was transcended, and a new original and realistic outlook was developed according to which in the new stage of socialist construction and revolution the party asserts itself more and more as the vital centre of the nation. Nicolae Ceausescu formulated theses, ideas and theoretical orientations of great significance scientifically defining the leading role of the party, the functions and methods whereby it fulfills its historic mission.

Through its role and multiple functions in society in the new stage of the socialist revolution—of management, organization, persuasion and mobilization—the party asserts itself more and more heavily as the dynamizing force of the nation that ensures both the harmonious operation of all sectors and the general orientation of all people's work. Romania's experience in the building of socialism disproves the theories that limit the role of the working-class party to its ideological function, to a theoretical mapping of the ways and methods of socialist construction, and that leave society develop on its own. It also rejects the conceptions that restrict the role of the party to its organizational function, to its being a mere instrument of power, an administrative body of action. Rising against such conceptions, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu says that: "the party must not be a general discussion club, it must take action as a vital centre of the nation. It must organize and give an impact to work in all spheres that ensures the country's general development". The RCP effectively takes part in the wide-ranging socialist and communist construction work, being aware that any tendency to move away from the heart of the reality or to take just a theoretical, ideological stand is contrary to the objective demands that define its mission and role in society.

As it is clearly inferable from the truly innovative orientations set by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the leading role of the party is not to be identified with a centre of command outside or above society, the masses, the people, or with the issuance of orders and dispositions that other social organizations and organisms must carry out. This is not so, since the party fulfills its mission as the leading political force within society, the masses, with the people for the people.

An example of the close link between the party and the masses is set by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, by Comrade Elena Ceausescu who have always been in the midst of workers, in economic and social units, on construction sites and in the fields and conducted an on-going dialogue with the working people.

The close ties with the masses materialized in a highly original and productive democratic system, unique in its way, the theoretical foundation which is Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's thesis on the building of socialism with the people for the people. Through its structure, through a wide diversity of bodies and ways in agreement with the requirements of life, of reality, the revolutionary worker democracy system provides for the direct, effective participation of all segments of working people—party and nonparty members alike—in the discussion and settlement of problems of public interest, in the carrying through of decisions that concern the socialist development of the country. Nationwide congresses of working people in various economic and sociocultural spheres were institutionalized, along with the national management councils of these democratic bodies, whereas in economic and sociocultural units there are general meetings and councils of working people.

The measures taken in the past twenty years to reorganize and improve society, the work of basic organizations, of all communists for the development of revolutionary worker democracy are highly significant contribution to the growing leading role of our party. In this light, the principle of the dialectical party-state and party-democracy relationship assumes special value. Stating the fact that democracy does not diminish but strengthens the role of the party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu says that "one cannot conceive of the revolutionary socialist democracy, of the development of society otherwise than through a strong growth of the role of the party, of its revolutionary might and daringness as the vital centre of the entire nation".

Clearly defining the relations between the party and the state, between the party and the democratic life of society, the RCP general secretary underlines that the role of state organs and democratic organisms should grow stronger, in the spirit of democratic centralism, of a harmonization of their responsibilities. At the same time, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu substantiates the conclusion according to which the RCP as a ruling party, is fully responsible for the implementation of the socioeconomic development plan.

Providing a thorough substantiation to the thesis according to which the further one goes on the road of socialism, the greater the leading role of the party in both scope and depth, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu rejected the liquidation outlook according to which the party should not have direct responsibility for the fulfilment of the country's development plans and programmes, but leave the task of problem-solving to the economic sectors and units. The party cannot but assume responsibility for the fulfillment of is programme of building socialism and communism. It cannot give up its role as the leading political force in the construction of the new system, it cannot share, let alone give way to, its role. To accept such a harmful thesis would, in the last analysis, be tantamount to weakening the leading role of the working class, the decisive social class of the new system that fulfills its lofty, historic mission through its own revolutionary party.

Closely connected with the fruitful activity at home to accomplish the wide-scope revolutionary process of building the multilaterally developed socialist society, the Romanian Communist Party strongly asserts itself internationally as an important factor in the fight for the liberty and independence of peoples, for disarmament, peace and progress. The definitional characteristics of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's thought and action show to the full in the Romanian party and state foreign policy—humanism and principledness, a capacity to analyse and sythesise world trends and developments, to draw conclusions and give practical solutions.

Through the brilliant contribution of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the Romanian Communist Party is a strong party today that leads the nation with clairvoyance, and works out solutions to the new and highly complex problems posed by the building of the multilaterally developed socialist society in Romania. With the great, historic chance of having an exceptional personality, an eminent thinker and theoretician of dialectical and historical materialism, of scientific socialism as its general secretary, our party was spared mistakes and erroneous orientations, it became stronger all the way and increasingly asserted itself as the vital centre of the entire nation, having earned the confidence and respect of all people who regard it, and its home and foreign policy as the guarantee of the continuing blossoming of the country, of the higher welfare and civilization of the working masses.

SCINTEIA Comments on Ceausescu's Humanism

AU2801190289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1702 GMT 28 Jan 89

["A Highly Humanistic Outlook in the Service of World Peace, Equity and Justice"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/01/1989—The deep humanism that is the hallmark of the RCP general secretary and president of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, his political thought and action brillliantly show in the speech at his birthday and long revolutionary activity celebration, a commentary in SCINTEIA of 28 January reads.

The RCP and Romanian state leader's profound humanism shows best in his perseverent actions and initiatives against the arms race, for disarmament, for the aversion of the nuclear threat. Working with a high sense of responsibility for the major interests of mankind, President Nicolae Ceausescu formulated the thesis of utmost importance that the foremost right of individuals and peoples is the right to life, to peace, and that to safeguard that right is imperative today.

In the opinion of the RCP general secretary to fight for man, for the assertion of the fundamental human rights means above all to fight for the aversion of the danger of war which would inevitably turn nuclear and have catastrophic effects on mankind.

It is precisely in the spirit of the same deep humanism that the party general secretary, while duly considering the steps taken lately to reduce or eliminate weapons—warns against euphoria, against overoptimism, showing that nuclear arms have retained or even increased their destructive potential, that the production of arms of all classes has spiralled up. More than at any other time should states and peoples intensify their efforts to make new and substantive disarmament agreements and understandings in a new, global approach that pursues the endorsement of measures of simultaneous elimination of nuclear, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction. Peace, independence President Nicolae Ceausescu stressed cannot be ensured if only one or another class of weapons is eliminated, because in that way centres of power could emerge and extend their rule to the world.

Only the simultaneous elimination of chemical, nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction can give guarantees that this never happens. In the same unitary vision, Romania stands for deep conventional arms, troops and military spending cuts.

The same noble aim was and is served by President Nicolae Ceausescu's effort for the peaceful political settlement of all disputes and differences between states. By virtues of an idea that the RCP general secretary stated more than once, namely that no matter how lengthy, thorny or difficult negotiations may be, they are preferable to conflicts, Romania, its president stand and take action for the steps in the direction of ending armed conflict in various parts of the globe, extinguishing all hotbeds of tension and war, all states of crisis around the world by bringing the conflicting parties to the negotiating table to be followed by others that should make the trend irreversible.

The problem of underdevelopment is approached by the RCP and Romanian state leader in the same humanist spirit. Humanism is incompatible with the growing polarization of the world into poor and rich that tends to become the principal contradiction today.

There is worldwide recognition of President Nicolae Ceausescu's contribution to the definition and promotion of the concept of the new international economic order apt to end a great anomaly, provide the key to grave inequities that can no longer persist without seriously jeopardizing world peace. A wide-ranging programme of measures pursues to set international economic relations on a truly new foundation that should eliminate existing disparities, eradicate poverty, lead to a more equitable distribution and utilization of the planet's resources.

One cannot speak about humanism if one does not observe every nation's inalienable, imprescriptible right to be full master of its destinies, to order its life as it wishes in consensus with the specific conditions in its country, without any outside interference or pressure. The attempts at imposing from the outside one form of development or social organization or another run counter to humanism, seriously violate every people's right to historic, free and sovereign creation, which excludes any constraint and interference, as excludes any preestablished model, pattern or scheme.

In the outlook of the RCP general secretary, which finds its expression in the entire foreign policy of Socialist Romania, a true humanism requires the definitive elimination of the policy of force and dictate, the setting of the relations among all states, irrespective of their size, development level, social system or political regime, membership or non-membership to political-military alliances, on the principles of national independence and sovereignty, fully equal rights, noninterference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage. In this spirit Romania has firmly risen against colonialism and neocolonialism, against the policy of racial discrimination against any form of enslaving peoples, has energetically condemned any act of aggression against independent and sovereign states, any manifestation meant to sow hatemongering among nations, has granted its multilateral support to the fight for the right to self-reliant development, to dignity, to assert itself throughout the world. A right which presupposes and implies the broad democratization of the international life. Rejecting fake, boasted humanism which gives pride of place to lateral, marginal aspects and not to what is essential as concerns human rights, the RCP general secretary sets from the need to achieve the genuinely fundamental human rights, the right to work, to shelter, to health care, to a decent, civilized life, rights which, as realities prove, are far from being achieved even in the developed countries of the world.

In light of these realities Romania proposes a package of measures meant to provide ever better working and living conditions to all the inhabitants of each and every country. Concomitantly with the conclusion of a general accord which should ensure a minimum income differentiated by zones, to every working person, a number of special programmes should be worked out stipulating the employment of the entire work force, the liquidation of underdevelopment and a proper training of all working people, of the youth in particular, a solution to the housing question; the eradication of drug addiction and of the nefariuous drug trafficking; the fight against terrorism and its causes. Aiming at the real problems of human rights, all these programmes make up a vast strategy the application of which would open the prospect for a radical improvement of living standards in every country.

The approach, in such a self-embracing humanistic outlook, to the aggregate of world issues is organically associated with the firm confidence in the power and decisive role of the peoples as the true makers of history, as the determining factor of the entire socioeconomic evolution apt to ensure, through their joint and converging action, the fulfillment of the aspirations after peace, freedom and progress of the whole mankind. On the grounds of this profound conviction, President Nicolae Ceausescu has called again these days on peoples everywhere, on the advanced forces of the planet to unite and cooperate ever more closely for the building of a safer and better world, under the sign of peace, equity and justice.

Delegate Addresses UNCTAD Commission Session

AU2801175289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1729 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] Geneva, AGERPRES, 28/01/1989—Taking the floor during the proceedings of the seventh session of the

UNCTAD Commission on Technology Transfer, under way in Geneva, Romania's representative outlined Romania's stance on the importance of technical progress for the economic and social development of all nations, for the eradication of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new international economic order. Stress was laid on a more marked tendency towards monopolizing technologies and the use of technical progress, towards perpetuating inequitable forms and terms of technology transfer towards the developing countries, on the practices of recruiting skilled staff from those countries. It was pointed out that the tendency towards diminishing technology transfers from the developed to the developing countries had a negative bearing on the developing countries' possibilities to make progress and caused a wider economic and technological gap on an international plane.

The Romanian representative also showed that the efforts of the developing countries, which play a major part in the application of scientific and technological progress to their economies, should be backed by a broad international collaboration, with the developed countries contributing to the enhancement of the developing countries' capacity for technology imports and showing the necessary political will for the finalization of the negotiations on an international framework of conduct in technology transfers.

Construction of New Viaducts, Tunnels Noted

AU0102115889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0950 GMT 1 Feb 89

["Complex Works on Romanian Railway Mainlines"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 1/02/1989—The constructors of the Vilcele-Rimnicu Vilcea railway (Southern Romania) have started these days the works at Siminic viaduct and intensified the activity at the two tunnels "Pleostina" (1910 m in length) and "Gibei" (2240 m). The works at these tunnels are executed by advanced methods, the so-called "shield" technique which allows for digging galleries without stripping—which accounts for a high pace in execution. The constructors also use a special crane at the viaduct for the mechanized assembly of concrete bars weighing tens of tons, and of rails.

The new railway, the length of which will be of 39.5 km, will shorten the distance between Bucharest and Sibiu by 125 km on the Pitesti route, which will lead to the increase of the traffic and of train speed, saving of fuel and also energy in the future as it will be electrified. Proceeding on a broken land, the construction of this objective required special works and daring solutions. 12 bridges and viaducts were built along the way, including the longest of the country—at Topologu—which is 1394-m long and over 50-m high, as well as two other tunnels.

Further on LCY Central Committee Plenum Debates

Stojcevic 30 Jan Speech

LD3101111689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1530 GMT 30 Jan 89

[Speech by Stanko Stojcevic, ex-officio member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the 20th LCY Central Committee session in the Federal Assembly building in Belgrade on 30 January—recorded]

[Text] Comrades:

The Croatian LC, as part of the united LCY, is conscious of the crisis-ridden and critical situation in the SFRY and the LCY. It is aware of the attacks on the foundations of the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ] and Tito's Yugoslavia and of the attempts to reorganize Yugoslavia on different bases. At the same time, however, it is also conscious of its own responsibility to prevent the implementation of these intentions and is determined to fight these attacks. The Croatian LC is conscious of the increasingly large divisions and partitions within the LCY, but it is also aware of its responsibility and determined in its struggle to halt these divisions so that splits in the LCY do not occur. This is why it has fought resolutely and will continue to fight for the preservation of AVNOJ and Tito's Yugoslavia as a socialist, self-managing, democratic community, as a federation of sovereign republics, as a state of equal people and citizens of all our nations and nationalities.

The Croatian LC believes—and it is fighting for this—that it is only by following the course of the 1st LCY conference and the 17th LCY Central Committee session, as a planned project for social reform, that problems can be solved and a better life ensured for the people. This is the only project unanimously adopted and approved in the LCY, a project of Yugoslav socialist togetherness, the common development of modern society, and as such, it is the self-managing, democratic, and integrated force that gives purpose to life together, the liberation of the creative energy of each individual and the opening up of prospects to working people and to all the nations and nationalities of the SFRY. This is the way to resolve the crisis and overcome the conflicts and divisions.

The Croatian LC will not take part in the creation of conflicts, the intensification of divisions, and the sowing of mutual distrust, regardless of the attempts being made to push it along this path. We have acted to develop the struggle for implementing the united policy of the LC, without reducing this to a struggle against this. The fundamental and starting (?position) of our policy has been the strengthening of the self-consciousness and the capability of the fundamental subjects of the system and the institutions of the political system so that they might independently and responsibly resolve the current problems of life and development.

The creation of powerful and autonomous economic and social subjects has been and remains for us the central place for de-etatization and the overcoming of the LC's monopoly and the strengthening of self-management. It is indisputable that the line of the first LCY conference in our entire society is providing its first results. Unfortnately, today forces are operating which are preventing, with all their strength, the positive processes and results we are achieving in this process within the LCY and society, from coming to expression more forcefully. Contrary to the program of social reform in line with the course of the 1st LCY conference and the 17th LCY Central Committee session, two regressive political processes, which the LCY must demarcate decisively and ideopolitically, are increasingly gaining in strength.

The first process is basically an expression of the internal [word indistinct] socialism, a regressive conception of political development. The essence of this process is advocating that the LC, as a traditional monolithic communist party reduced to the leaderships which would directly take over into their hands all social decisionmaking, would encompass all segments of social relations and processes, within which a unity of will and practice would prevail as the expression of its internal monolithic nature. This type of party and its social role does not permit other opinions. It gives directives and is hierarchical and (?inaccessible) in nature, and would attempt to establish such relations throughout society and prevent any expression of differing interests and opinions, and suspend the democratic and pluralist character of society. Objectively speaking, it (?is in favor of) the reorganization and destruction of Tito's Yugoslavia along the lines of unification and unitarization, based on central control and a powerful state and party bureaucracy. In addition to this, in light of the fact that this promotes national homogenization in one area, this also leads to national homogenization in other areas, something which one's own nationalism uses as a justification, because in this orientation in which the national element appears as a means, once used, the national element aspires toward becoming independent, subjugating overall processes to its own aims.

This is why, in the political confrontations which have arisen, it is opening up space for all nationalisms, which are basically anticommunist, anti- Yugoslav, and anti-[word indistinct].

The second process is along the lines of the classical multiparty system. Regardless of its insistence on many aspects of democratic [word indistinct] relations and the achievements of civilization, openness, pluralism, the state's rule of law, and so forth, the orientation toward the creation of a multiparty system, potentially and in reality, means a project running counter to self-management and socialist democracy. In our circumstances, it is isolated in national programs. Such national programs, objectively speaking, lead toward disintegration and serve as an additional impetus for the strengthening of unitaristic tendencies in Yugoslavia.

In a situation in which these forces and activities are acting, a fundamental question arises: how, led by the demands of modern production forces, to produce and realize a concept of social reforms based on self-managing, socialist, democratic, and pluralist principles. The bases of this program, as a Yugoslav self-managing and socialist synthesis, were laid down by the first conference of the LCY in a project of social reform as the renewal of socialism on Yugoslav territory. The Croat LC has seen and accepts the responsibility, task, and prospects in the contribution of the practicality of this program and its part within the Yugoslav synthesis toward realizing this project and its elements in Croatia. In Croatia it has always been of primary importance to support and to struggle for a unified LC line for the entire concept of overcoming the crisis, because in it we have found the most prospects for the development of the republic, all its nations and nationalities.

At the same time, it proceeds from historic reasons and from the knowledge that only the open and the environments directed toward joint development can ensure their own national and civilizational identity in altered world conditions [sentence as heard]. This results in our opposition to all concepts of isolationism, monopoly, the imposing of goals, and national and separatist programs. A deepening of the social crisis, social insecurity, a feeling of social helplessness, and negative results in the economic and other spheres increase social tension and broaden social dissatisfaction among workers and citizens, which is being increasingly directed against the institutions of the system. [word indistinct] particularly in leaderships, confrontations with the reality of the crisis [word indistinct] practical initiatives for a reform of the system and political life turned more and more toward politicking and manipulations. This was conducive to a climate of uncertainty and dissatisfaction, the strengthening of all forms of political voluntarism and an increasing lack of trust, both in the system and in the policy, which were personified by the leaderships.

This potentially explosive dissatisfaction expanded the maneuverability of the forces of reform in a socialist, democratic, and self-managing direction, and also of an orientation which tried to exploit and redirect the crisis and dissatisfaction in other directions. Our position must be clear: We have not, nor can we, oppose the mass expression of the peoples' will when this means unblocking [deblokada] the institutions, the creation of conditions of democratic processes, the freeing of initiative and knowledge, and the capabilities of individuals as a precondition for a modern democratic development, for the acceptance of responsibility by the working people and citizens of some environment, for one's own development, and for making one's own leaderships more competent. It must be opposed when it serves the building of illusions that the causes of misfortune lie somewhere else—in national enemies—that misfortune is the consequence of socialist self-management, and that the opportunity for the problems to be resolved lies in other bases of Yugoslav relations.

This is why we are against the manipulation of working people or a nation that is directed against other working people and nations, or offers it the illusion that a better life can be achieved by waving a magic wand. The real answers to the crisis of the political system lie in creating true, democratic, and competent institutions which will be under the permanent and critical control of the democratic public, in direct elections, and in cadre changes as a continuous process of the struggle so that one has the right people in the right places, in accordance with precise reform-minded criteria, and in the democratization of society and the LC itself.

Reliance on one's own forces in socioeconomic, scientific, and technological development cannot be reduced to the level of state or sociopolitical communities. Its importance is much broader and, above all, implies the responsibility of each sociopolitical, economic, and self-managing body for progress in terms of development in his or her own environment, which will serve the general development of our socialist, self-managing community. This development strategy makes each and every person face up to his or her own economic, scientific, and technological achievements, and program and implement—within his or her own capabilities—development within his or her own environment.

In conditions in which each person is responsible for his own environment, it will be easier to recognize and specify what the common interests of Yugoslavia are, which paths to take to arrive at them, and how to build on their unity. The unity of interests of Yugoslavia must be based on the interests of each part of it, each nation and nationality. Unity which is imposed, whether by one or by several parts of Yugoslavia, cannot be true unity in the SFRY.

The key points of the Yugoslav crisis are today often portrayed as being a consequence of a lack of unity within the LCY as the leading ideopolitical force in society. Here, the process of overcoming the model of socialist development to this point is not translated into specific moves toward reform and new social relations which have grown up in accordance with the needs and requirements of this time. Instead, an attempt is made to establish unity within the categories of the old model. An LC simply connected in this way to such a state structure at all levels loses its membership and suspends internal relations and activity. The belief that these kinds of forces of control can be regenerated into more adept and powerful people, accompanied by more intense national symbols, and accompanied by identifying victims and culprits, is to revert to historically outmoded solutions. As long as any person starts from the idea of bringing the struggle for his own nation into confrontation with another nation—and everyone has his own nation—divisions are inevitable. There can be no unity of all positions, and this is why we stress that the federative principle has been and remains the basis of relations and life together in the SFRY, and really bringing this

principle into question necessarily brings into question Yugoslavia as a socialist and democratic community of equal nations and nationalities.

Democratic debate, accompanied by reasoned arguments for or against opinions on all open questions in Yugoslavia, is more vital to us than ever. But it should not be transformed into a mutual verbal settling of scores, a struggle for power, splits, and spreading of lies, and a heating up of the atmosphere of [word indistinct]. It is impermissible that in any environment whatsoever a statement of view or a criticism of specific political practice be understood or interpreted as an attack on individual nations, republics, or provinces, and used and abused for sowing intranational intolerances. The Croatian LC has resolutely reacted and is reacting to nationalistic excesses and to phenonmena which create room for expression of nationalism and which threaten the stability of intranational relations, the brotherhood and unity of the Croatian and Serbian nations, and the nationalities living in the SR of Croatia.

The stimulation and spreading of anti-Croatian and anti-Serbian sentiment—wherever it emanates from—represents [words indistinct] and the brotherhood and unity of the Croatian and Serbian people in Croatia and attempted attacks on the Croatian LC and the smashing of the SR of Croatia. This is, at the same time, a strike at the stability and foundations of the SFRY. Full national equality, development, and separate identity are expressed by each citizen as his right, while at the level of society and the state as their obligation to secure conditions for this right to be realized, ensured, and protected. The SR of Croatia, as a homeland and which is an entity in itself, and the common state of the Croatian people and the Serbian people in Croatia and the nations and nationalities who live in it, [passage indistinct].

This is the responsibility of the SR Croatia toward both those who live in it and also toward the SFRY, and its sovereign right and responsibility, which cannot be transferred to anyone else. From this, we perceive the full responsiblitiy of the Croatian LC toward the working class and their citizens who live in Croatia, toward the LCY, and toward the Yugoslav socialist community as a whole.

Comrades, basically what is happening in our society reflects a crisis in the socialist model. The differences are over what our program is for further developing socialist self-management, i.e., our strategic guideline, but there are even greater differences over the methods and means of how to bring this about. In the LCY there are conceptual differences in the views on the important problems of society. We all invoke the 1st LCY conference and the 17th LCY Central Committee session, but we have completely opposite interpretations. Things cannot go on like this. Big words are used, but beneath them old contents are offered. The methods people wish to use to implement the reforms are sometimes diametrically opposed. It is normal for there to be differences in opinions and views, but it is not normal that what is argued about democratically and in a timely fashion is not overcome, and that the Yugoslav socialist self-managing synthesis is either made into an empty phrase devoid of any meaning or else it is made into this by the imposition of one concept.

The situation in the LCY, especially in its leaderships, brings into question not only the implementation of social reforms but also their very survival, and even the country's stability. We must move away from this. We must call a halt to confrontations, especially those which promote national divisons, and on this basis the formation and (?falling into line) behind our own [national] leadership. The Central Committee of Yugoslavia must—on the basis of the precise criteria of the first conference, which were derived from aspirations to reform society—ask all LC organs and organizations to establish the responsibility of each LC member and leadership for the failure to implement the conclusions of the 17th session.

This will create a political framework and climate for resolutely continuing the reforms and changes to the economic system, for the realistic creation of bases for the implementation of economic policy on new bases, and to enable us to turn to the social situation in the country and the problems of people. To this end, the tasks of the Central Committee are, in my opinion, to create political space so that the Yugoslav Assembly, the FEC, the executive councils and assemblies in the republics, and other institutions responsibly adopt the role of, and effectively realize, what will be adopted. In this way, we will be addressing ourselves to fundamental problems, things which are the cause of all the difficulties and the economic and social situation in life.

Hence the primary task of this Central Committee today is to contribute to surmounting the forces of partition and division. Forces have been provoked which we can control only with difficulty, and the powerful dissatisfaction of people has been accumulated, which is already being used even for intranational conflicts and the sowing of intranational hatred and divisions. In order for the LCY to carry out its revolutionary task and to prove its Yugoslav political strength, this Central Committee must, at this session, confirm the role and responsibility of the highest organs of the LCY.

In conclusion, let me say: How are misconceptions created in that at this point in time the positions in which the organs and the leaders of social subjects are in are not identical. Let us not hold the illusion that the profession which is increasingly gaining in strength will leave anyone on one side or in peace. However, this is not the most important thing. Some basic principles of constitutionality and legality in the SFRY and the statute [statutarnost] of the LCY Central Committee are today also being exposed to destruction. In individual environments the right is taken away from them to reach verdicts and adopt final decisions without respecting the

constitutional or statutory procedures for establishing responsibility. This is adopting conclusions without the individual having the possibility of defending himself. These are attempts to violate the adopted principles of the Constitution and the statute, and are the infringement of elementary human rights.

We will persevere in our established orientation, whereby we will support and defend those who have been elected in a democratic electoral procedure from a list of more candidates than actually elected by secret ballot, and who in this way gain their democratic legality and fight for realizing the stands of the first conference, to defend the conclusions of the 17th LCY session from unprincipled and unsubstantiated attacks, and from an abnormal atmosphere in which it is impossible to discuss matters properly. This applies equally to every member of the LCY Central Committee, the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, and also Comrade Suvar, the present president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. Let us do all we can to ensure that open, well-reasoned, and principled criticism and self-criticism are the way and means of strengthening mutual trust, producing more and better work, thus becoming stronger and more united in action, and so that such criticism and self-criticism are not identified with and used for the personal settling of scores and the devaluing of the people.

The social situation requires that we should direct all our forces toward the struggle, and to overcome without delay the unbearable situation and miserable life of the people. As far as the sociodemocratic development of our country is concerned, it seems to me that we all care about it to the same degree, so let's make an effort to ensure that we can work efficiently and in harmony.

Sipovac Delivers Address

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[Speech by Nedeljko Sipovac, president of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium, at the 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum in Belgrade on 30 January—recorded]

[Text] Comrades: Last year was marked by an avalanche of dissatisfaction and justified, potentially explosive, anger because of the erroneous policy which has long been pursued in Vojvodina. The policy that was characterized by Vojvodina's isolationism and autarky, stagnation, and lack of preparation to face the crisis was condemned and rejected on the basis of strongly expressed demands of the workers class and working people, the LC membership, citizens, and all peoples and nationalities. This policy destroyed unity in the SR of Serbia and hindered the integration process. There was resistance to the constitutional establishment of the SR of Serbia as a state and self-managing community over all of its territory. And the position of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, as defined by the SFRY Constitution, was overemphasized while its belonging to the SR of Serbia was ignored.

The political exponents are parts of bureaucracy and dogmatism which resisted changes in the economic and political system. All these distortions and resistance came to their full prominence with regard to solving problems in Kosovo. This kind of policy and practice was built on the bureaucratic isolationism of the leadership from the workers class and people. The damaging consequences were considerable, not only for Vojvodina but also for the SR of Serbia and Yugoslavia. There was a temporary cultural, informational, and every other kind of encapsulation of the province, above all, in relation to the SR of Serbia.

At the beginning of last October, a radical break with this policy began. After the mass expression of dissatisfaction in the streets of Novi Sad and throughout Vojvodina, the processes of solving the political crisis in the province were started. The workers class and the working people, members of the LC, the youth, and veterans became a decisive factor on the political scene. The processes of political consolidation and cadre renewal in the Vojvodina LC were started. The struggle had begun for the democratization of overall relations in the province and for the reforming image of the LC.

In the process of the cadre consolidation in the Vojvodina LC, which was started and carried out on the basis and substance of the primary stream of ideopolitical differentiation and establishing of individual and collective accountability for conducting an erroneous policy and for its exponents, we either renewed or elected completely new leaderships in the communal LC's, Novi Sad, and the university.

This was also the basis on which the delegates to the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC were elected, a conference which elected the new provincial committee, the Statutory and Control Commissions, as well as the Presidium. In all these activities, we witnessed active participation and had good cooperation with all the working groups and activists of this Central Committee and the Central Committee of the Serbian LC. We are talking about a radical cadre renewal, but this cadre renewal was not a purge, nor was it destructive, but in fact served the creation of conditions for the establishment of democratic relations and an orientation toward reform in the Vojvodina LC and in the province. The activity of removing bureaucratic shackles and obstructions was, and is, conducted in accordance with the Program and Statute of the LCY, the stances adopted by the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Serbian LC, the conclusions of the first LCY conference, and the tasks adopted at the 17th LCY Central Committee session.

The political scene in Vojvodina is today dominated by the progressive, socialist, democratic, and reforming endeavor of the workers class and the broadest strata of the people. The activity of the forces that began the break with the erroneous, bureaucratic, anti-reform, anti-Serbian, and anti-Yugoslav policy has started a wide process of democratization and contributed to the openness in the work of the Vojvodina LC and political life in the province in general. The activity of the Vojvodina LC is characterized by its mass nature, a high degree of criticism, initiative, and readiness to fully carry out its obligations and responsibilities. The political life of the province is also characterized by the people's interest and inclination for changes and reforms. We strive for a materially and socially more just, more democratic, more modern, and better organized socialist self-managing society characterized by work, order, and economic efficiency. In essence, people ask for changes that will offer a way out of backwardness and lack of prospects, that will enable them to live better and more happily, that will provide more human and civil freedoms, harmony, and equality among the peoples and nationalities.

The trust of the broadest LC membership, the workers, working people, and citizens can enjoy only those cadres and leaderships that are ready and able to mobilize all the reformist forces in society, especially young people, and those who have affirmed themselves through their work, expert and Yugoslav oriented people, who are ready and able to constructively contribute to the strengthening of unity and togetherness in the SR of Serbia and the SFRY, to lead them in concrete actions.

The processes which have been started during the preparations for the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC, as well as the tasks and decisions that were adopted at the conference, represent a definite break with the characteristics and substance of the policy which failed with the creation of a new policy. During the discussion that was held at the conference, and in the adopted documents, we achieved full unity in our orientation to quickly resolve the Kosovo drama, to constitute the SR of Serbia as a state in its entire territory, to realize the real essence of Vojvodina's autonomy, to strengthen unity and togetherness, to improve cooperation and the integrational ties in the SR of Serbia, to strengthen brotherhood and unity in Yugoslavia, and to find a quicker way out of the economic crisis.

The constitutional establishment of the SR of Serbia as a unified state and self-managing community, the reform of the economic and political system, the renewal, that is to say, the transformation of the Vojvodina LC on the starting points, ideas and aims of a Yugoslav character, and a struggle for a resolute turnabout to permanently stabilize the situation in Kosovo are the key and complementary priorities of the Vojvodina LC's action today. They were unanimously accepted and adopted at the extraordinary session of the Vojvodina LC.

The democratic spirit that was demonstrated at the extraordinary session of the Vojvodina LC, the rich and substantive discussion, the numerous good proposals that are important for the transformation of the LC and for starting to overcome the crisis, are unprecedented in the modern history of the LCY.

The victory of the antibureaucratic revolution in Montenegro this January, the unmasking of Bosnian bureaucracy involved in the Agrokomerc and Neum affairs, and many other abuses, and following a turnabout that took place in the SR of Serbia in the fall of 1987, opened new space for democratization of our society and fruitfully presented itself at the extraordinary session of the Vojvodina LC.

The coalition of national rulers [naciokratija] at the republican, provincial, and federal level has suffered a strong blow. After abandoning the economic reform in 1965 national rulers applied the principle of divide and rule and in this way destroyed Yugoslavia as a federation which was heading in the direction of a loose confederation. They broke the unified Yugoslav market through the national economies of the republics and provinces and created a situation in which national elements dominated over class elements.

The so-called consensus economy served as a good excuse for exerting their total control over the economy and other non-economic sectors. What emerged was polycentric statism based on the self-will of these politocrats which made this country heavily indebted abroad, led to many bad investments, enormous internal debts, growing bureaucracy in all sectors and at all levels, the enormous issue of bad money, financial indiscipline, and the disturbance of law and order.

Nationalist and separatist tendencies culminated in Kosovo where Albanianization took place with the purpose of creating an ethnically pure Kosovo. The economic crisis demonstrated its increasing proportions through galloping inflation which endangered the existence of a large number of citizens of our country, of the unemployed, and pensioners, as well as those who are in employment. The federal leadership has demonstrated complete inability to curb inflation.

The tragedy of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and the legal inability of the SR of Serbia to prevent the genocide of Albanian nationalists in a part of its territory led to mass meetings of solidarity throughout Serbia, Montenegro, and Vojvodina. The rallies exerted pressure on the federal organs to perform their constitutionally and legally defined obligations. The pressure of the dissatisfied people, who were not able to act through the alienated institutions of the system, resulted in the federal coalition of national rulers who, frightened by the people and workers' protest in front of the SFRY Assembly, started to apply the principle of divide and rule in order to remain in power.

The fact that the SFRY Constitution of 1974 divided Serbia into three parts and transformed it into a constitutional invalid had to result in the mass dissatisfaction of the Serbian nation because their republic was not equal to the republics of our other peoples.

The lack of readiness on the part of the Yugoslav state and party leadership to curb the counterrevolution in Kosovo fueled the fire of the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples' dissatisfaction. Instead of trying to curb the encompassing crisis that is threatening Yugoslavia and its reputation in the world, the Yugoslav party leaderships have contributed to the further deepening of the crisis through its inefficient and insufficient activities. This had the crucial influence on the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC to call for an extraordinary congress and the replacement of Stipe Suvar from his position as president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Everything that was demanded was demanded to be done democratically in accordance with the LCY Statute. I think that we should not speculate about this any further. This completely justified demand was followed by extremely tendentious and completely false presentations of the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC. The unsubstantiated attacks on the leaderships of the SR of Serbia, which expresses the true interests of its people in the struggle for its equality in Yugoslavia, as well as of all other peoples and nationalities who care for the survival and progress of our country as a community of equal peoples and nationalities, for democratic socialism, and all those reforms without which we cannot overcome the crisis. [sentence as heard]

The stories about putches in Novi Sad and Titograd that were directed from Belgrade, the stories about neo-Stalinism and various other inventions belong to the arsenal of the dirtiest methods used by certain national rulers in order to stop the process of democratization in our country and the arrival of able, younger cadres who favor reforms. It appears that it is not clear to them that the Montenegrin and Vojvodina people removed themselves from their bureaucratic leaderships, that all communists, workers, and citizens of Vojvodina, the members of all peoples and nationalities who have been living in harmony, brotherhood and unity, and togetherness for years, unanimously said that Vojvodina will not again be separated from its republic and Yugoslavia, and that they see their future only in Yugoslavia as a country of equal peoples and nationalities who live in it.

Comrades, in my opinion the economic crisis is increasingly affecting the two most developed republics. This must be finally realized and a solution must be sought in creating an economic system which would enable everybody in our country to live on their work. The results of this work would be verified on the Yugoslav market which is increasingly open to foreign competition. This will significantly limit the national rulers' power in the economic sector. The workers class, citizens, peoples, and nationalities expect a better life from the reform and in this sense are rightly becoming increasingly impatient.

The development of the political democracy which must follow the affirmation of the market method of conducting economic activities is the only way to become a politically responsible society in which the top posts will be occupied by the most able cadres which will be accountable to those who democratically elected them as their leaders. Vojvodina has material and spiritual potentials for this kind of turnabout, this kind of reform. It has political and expert cadres. The preconditions for this have finally been created through a radical cadre renewal in the Vojvodina LC.

The LCY reform that has been announced should make possible a full democratization in this organization and prevent any possibility of being a mere instrument enabling certain groups, alienated from the party members and the people, to cling to power. Had it been so, I am certain that we would never have fallen into such a crisis.

Comrades, it is the historic obligation of this Central Committee to critically review its work so far and the work of its Presidium. The interests of our workers class, our peoples and nationalities, and of our common state impose the need for a self-critical approach in revealing all the shortcomings. If we want to be a leadership of the people and not an alienated center of political power, we must put the interests of the people and the interests of Yugoslavia above our own interests. If we do not do this, the people will not forgive us, and it is the people who are the sovereign power in this country.

If the numerous and, in many ways, different countries of Western Europe can unify more and more in the economic, political, and other aspects, why could such a process not begin in our country, which has marked its 70th anniversary? Let us make possible a radical cadre renovation according to the will of the people. In this way we will begin implementing the reforms which have been spoken about a lot so far but about which nothing has been done.

These reforms, with which some other socialist countries are ahead of us, are the only way to become a modern European country which will join the modern scientific-technological revolution and the world economic and political system.

Instead of division, we are beginning to work on uniting our country on the basis of the reform of the economic and political systems and the affirmation of economic and political democracy. This idea dominated at the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC and it prevailed in all its proposals and conclusions.

All different stories are nothing but a cover-up for us to hide our own responsibility, from the people, for the Kosovo drama and for the threatening economic breakdown, and every other breakdown, of our country, upon whose foundations the lives of millions of our people and the ideas of the greatest minds which have lived in this area are built.

Comrades, if these negative trends of disunity in the LCY continue, they will bring us bad luck. This is being increasingly written about by our proven friends abroad. Contemporary mankind also needs a democratic and nonaligned Yugoslavia. Let us not become a divided African country in Europe, a country that would be cruely exploited and at the same time ignored. Let us respect each others specific characteristics and objective problems and differences, and build on them and the joint interests of all peoples' and nationalities' unity in this LC and its Central Committee. Let us create the conditions for a new federal government, let us motivate the workers class and the people of this country to carry out our reforms which will begin to pull us out of this crisis. Let us all take part in the final break from the counterrevolution in Kosovo. These are our historic obligations and responsibilities.

Kucan Speaks 30 Jan

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[Speech by Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium, at the 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum in Belgrade on 30 January—recorded]

[Text] Comrades: Our task is to create a platform for a joint struggle for Yugoslavia, for the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. We must look at the facts and openly say that it is precisely this Yugoslavia which is under threat. What is happening now in the country, and above all within the LC itself, is—so to speak—a dissolution of Yugoslavia. And in some parts of the LC there is support or at least toleration of a silent alteration into some different kind of Yugoslavia, with a different social and political system from that of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia], which was the result of the historical agreement by the majority and by the nations and nationalities, as well as the orientation and the vision of the majority in this LCY and in the Slovene LC.

It is the task of the LCY Central Committee to determine those essential political points which will help the LC turn from fruitless mutual conflicts and accusations about who is causing the greatest threat and contributing to the destabilization of the country, toward the creation of the convincing early vision, or a program for living together and for development, a program for the socialist and democratic integration of the country. We can freely call this program the program for the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The Central Committee must insist on the stances of the 13th congress and, in particular, the orientations of the conference for the strategy of reform, without allowing a one-sided and arbitrary interpretation of that strategy, the sabotage of these decisions, and the creation of some kind of LC which has no legitimacy in these aims. The LCY Central Committee is duty-bound to do this, because in spite of all the conflicts, inconsistencies, and disunity which are eating into it, it is the only real organized political force which has real political power and influence and which—because of this—is, objectively speaking, the most responsible for development, for the crisis, for divisions, for development blockades, and for overcoming them.

Starting from a set duty defined in this way, the Slovene LC has not decided in favor of polemical platforms, of replies to all that could be heard, among other things, about the situation in the SR of Slovenia, about the Slovene LC, about some of our comrades, from speakers at the Vojvodina LC conference, the Belgrade LC City Committee, and in some other LC organizations in Serbia and Montenegro, although there would certainly be valid reasons for this. It is our assessment that the dilemmas in question are too serious for us to delay and waste time on these kind of polemics. But I must say that all this, together with a great lagging behind in development and a more rapid impoverishment of the Slovene economy—which have increased very pessimistic prospects—contribute to the strengthening of every kind of separatist, nationalist, anti-Yugoslav, anti-socialist, and anti-communist opinion and consciousness on the public political scene in Slovenia. Such a quarrelsome, militant, intolerant tone shows that the type of the political opinion according to which there should be one single and subjectively determined truth in the LC about society has still not been overcome. A settling of accounts with all other truths and their proponents is, according to this opinion, essential; not just an ideopolitical settling of accounts, but also a criminal and legal one, that is to say, a physical settling of accounts. This is all happening before our eyes in the LCY, very crudely, in the name of ideopolitical differentiation.

This Central Committee cannot keep quiet about it. This is in fact a way toward that same kind of monolithism and intolerance which does not recognize the right to different opinions and does not respect the dignity of anyone who thinks differently, and which has caused enough damage to communist thought and the communist movement and taken away from the LCY its creative and integrational potential. For these reasons we most resolutely reject such practice as a potential legitimate practice of the LCY. We cannot accept as our own a league of communists which would agree to such practices—that is not our LC. Proceeding from its own responsibility, the Slovene LC Central Committee proposes four points which, in our opinion and in the interest of the entire country, can link together the creative thought and action of the LCY.

First: to formulate a joint platform of struggle for the SFRY. It is above all a reply to the question whether we still have in us a joint desire to accept such a struggle for Yugoslavia, and for what kind of Yugoslavia. Do we still have a vision of a joint development which has united us into a joint state? Last year's processes indicate that this vision has been disintegrating more and more. Among the people and among all our nations this feeling of being under threat and without future prospects for living in such a community is growing stronger. Only a real and stable social development justifies and links the people with such large objective differences in the community. Such a successful program of joint development is the only correct integrational factor in such a community. The concept of joint living is in crisis because the concept of socialism, that is a type of social development practice which was the foundation of our joint life is also in crisis.

The battle for Yugoslavia, for its identity and its integrity cannot be separated from efforts to define the project of developed socialism as the basic integrational factor of our community. These points determine the two basic tasks of the LC—the struggle for Yugoslavia and the struggle for creating a project of developed socialism, and these are at the same time the main integrational levers of the LC itself because the revolutionary past and even less so futile conflicts which mainly define it today can no longer be what binds it together. Work on such a project is not just a mere remodelling of the concepts we had so far of early types of socialism, created on the soil of financially poor and intellectually, culturally, and civilizationally undeveloped societies. It is a matter of a program concept of socialism—Suvar spoke about it and I agree with the basic theses in his speech—as a social project and practice which will be socially successful, economically efficient, and encouraging for creative and inventive work of individuals and the community.

It is a project which is capable of absorbing and adapting all the fundamental civilized achievements—scientific-technical, economic, political, and cultural ones—and at the same time is capable of developing and realizing the emancipating idea of socialist humanism to which all great liberation and revolutionary movements before and after Marx subscribed. We have neither valid nor objective reasons for living in ever growing poverty, with ever receding prospects, and if you wish, further and further away from Marx and Europe. Why am I talking about this? First, without efforts in view of answers to these questions it is meaningless to have discussions on an antibureaucratic revolution, the responsibility and dismissal of the central committee, the presidium, and even Stipe Suvar. This is a naked struggle for power as expressed through personal and group ambitions, which throughout history has been a sufficient burden on the communist movement and idea. Slovene communists do not wish to participate in this struggle. And, second, only a project which, owing to its realistic goals and promises of a better, more emancipated, and more humane life close to the processes underway in the developed world, can have enough integrational power, will be able to ensure the survival and all-embracing development of Yugoslavia as a possible way of living successfully in a joint state of all its nations and nationalities on an equal footing.

The definition of such a program concept of society is also the definition of Yugoslavia as a project for the successful, free coexistence of equal peoples and nationalities which will of course in a joint, democratically created development strategy as the expression of common interests and out of the well-known needs for coexistence, respect and enable the expression of all objective differences and conditions in which our peoples have been historically formed and which constitute them today as sovereign nations.

Is it now realistic to speak about this? Yes it is, precisely now, when it is clear that no one wishes to live with shortages or in poverty, in endless quarrels, with no prospects and ever further away from the main stream of the developed world. It is realistic precisely because of the developed awareness of the fact that freedom and sovereignty, whether of the individual or of the nations, are not ensured by an authoritarian state closed to the world and an ideopolitically monolithic, monopolistic party, but rather by a materially good situation, spiritual wealth, and social environment which, through its democratic, cultural and humane relations encourage the creative, working and social involvement of people, their citizens' and self-managing initiative. The ticket for the realization of such a project is represented by our reform strategy. This Central Committee must be the initiator of the task of preparing the implementation of reforms. In the interests of all our people and of socialism the LC must not allow itself to fall behind.

Exactly as Ante Markovic explained to us at Saturday's SAWPY Presidium session, with inflation at 1,000 percent, everything that we are talking about, including socialism and democracy, is becoming a senseless story.

Second: to encourage and support the process of democratization and to open up political opportunities for the people's initiative, citizens' initiative, for the initiative of organized political and social factors.

It is clear that Yugoslavia's future is inseparable from the democratic evolution of this community, which despite major differences is nonetheless connected through existentialist joint interests.

Yugoslavia can only be a democratic community, a socialist and self-managing one, or it will not exist at all. It cannot exist if it does not constitute itself as a democratic society. Life in democracy for socialism, which understands democracy to be a means of struggling for socialism, has equality as a precondition, the toleration of variety, mutual good-willed assistance, and

a democratic synthesis of interests. This is the alternative to an introversion into our own mutual bestial settling of accounts, and it is the only path to over active inclusion in Europe and world civilization.

This is a reality which the world experiences and perceives in this way. One only needs to read about Yugoslavia in the world. Yugoslavia has, unfortunately, become a favorite trouble spot for the world media.

This, of course, requires a departure from numerous dogmas and the political monopoly of the party which has generated these dogmas. It requires the adoption and respect of the rules of democratic behavior, a democratic political organization of society, equality in rights and responsibilities for all the people, and circumstances where they are allowed to participate in political life precisely so that they do not overthrow the democracy which enables them to do this.

Of course, this also presupposes conflicts with statism and bureaucracy as the most resistant strongholds of class society and a real enemy of socialism. For it is clear that no bureaucratic apparatus, regardless of who the number one man is, can or wants to develop socialism. For this reason an antibureaucratic democratic revolution is the on one that abolishes those social relations which are the basis of bureaucratism, which abolishes—if you wish—armchairs, and a need for leaders, and not the one which rearranges armchairs and brings new leaders in place of the old ones. Democracy is the necessity of modern socialism. It needs a political system approporiate to its content, socialist production, and social relations. Only within the framework of such a process is it at all possible and sensible to have a discussion on political pluralism.

There can be no democracy without political pluralism. This is the stance of our conference. One cannot abolish the political monopoly of a party in accordance with the orientation of the sixth congress unless a different political thinking can be articulated, promoted and represented within or outside the Socialist Alliance, or if the Socialist Alliance remains just another version of the Party.

Political pluralism cannot be realized only as a pluralism of political parties nor does it necessarily require a power struggle among several parties. The question of parties, on which Comrades Mutapcic and Lazaroski spoke separately, is of secondary importance. The primary question is whether it is possible to articulate and promote human and citizens' initiative, their personal and collective partial and self-managing interests.

Political pluralism is becoming a real fact. The people' dissatisfaction—the same dissatisfaction which deals with incompetence, incompatibility, and the inability of the institutions and their exponents by dismissing these people at public meetings—only accelerates the instrumentalization of pluralism to which the LC has already opened the door in accordance with its perception of the causes of the Yugoslav crisis and the possibility of surmounting it.

One should realize that all this, including the setting up of various committees, alliances, and associations, is happening on the soil of an open and deep Yugoslav crisis, which radically gives rise to the fundamental questions, the social class, national, Yugoslav questions, the basic civilizational questions of human rights—not only in Kosovo—the questions of creativity and individualism, and ecological, demographic, and generational questions. These questions require answers. They cannot be answered by condemnation, ex-communication, disqualification, or bans.

The LC also searches for these answers, but it is unfortunately very late in doing this. It is mainly late with its self-managing vision of how to resolve all these questions, the visions that are based on the right of man, the creator of new value, to own and make decisions concerning this value because this was in fact the determinant which has defined our communist movement and has functioned as the basic integrational factor within the LC and society.

The answers of the LC will be just some of the possible answers. Their validity will in the future be decided by the amount of support from the people expressed through elections and referendum. Of course, we also include here the platform of the new constitution about which Comrade Lazaroski spoke. All this requires the LC to approach these discussions with much more definite and united views than the present ones.

We have formulated in the LC of Slovenia the draft stands on political pluralism proceeding from nonparty pluralism as our vision of political democracy. We only restricted it with socialism, self-management, and Yugoslavia, understood as a socialist federal republic, as the expression of the historic democracy of consent of the majority in society.

These are the stands in the discussion. It would be good if the entire LCY would do something similar, as this is not an isolated Slovene phenomenon. We are late with this. Together with the project of the renewal of the LCY, it would certainly be more useful than strong words as to who is giving in to the bourgeois restoration. However, we must enter this discussion knowing and understanding that it is not just our discussion about others, but also of others about us, about the LC, our practice and responsibility, our role and work, about trust or lack of it which we have in the people and class.

It is worth stressing that we do not wish to return to single-party or multiparty societies; what we want from political pluralism is more, above all more freedom for everyone, more rights, all the way to the diversity that

can be offered by one, two, or several parties. We want fewer struggles for power—above and on behalf of the people—that are now also being waged within the LC and with its help.

We demand more opportunities to promote good ideas and new able people because without them no progress is possible. Our most urgent task is the initiative for and cooperation in the reform of the SAWP, a reform that would open it to ideas, projects, and their promoters, and would make it a guarantor of democratic confrontation, decisionmaking, and control over the realization of decisions. The same applies to the new constitution. In this context the LC must offer to society solutions that are the closest to the visions of socialism according to the individual and therefore acceptable to the majority.

Third: to speed up the LC reform so that it can be the integrational force that stimulates ideas and initiates practical activities that would lead to a socialism of the future.

The critical thinking in the LC itself must lead to the LC writing its own program documents so that it does not become a special party against other parties and that communists do not have special interests separate from the interests of the entire proletariat. We must seek replies further along from the point at which Kardelj unfortunately stopped, that is, how to reform the LC to ensure that, as a league of ideological fellow-thinkers gathered around a particular project of social development, a concrete political project, it could act efficiently within the political system and not as it still does, as a separate party against or even outside the system above the people.

In the pluralism of ideas which are born, articulated, and promoted outside and in contravention of us, we communists should not see a mere competition—these opinions could be heard here today—but above all we should see the beginning of what we ourselves named a proreform alliance, the possibility of an alliance of ideas and action created within the self-managing bloc of political forces within the political alliance. It is a bloc whose fundamental framework of activity is the Constitution, and Yugoslavia as a democratic socialist community of equal peoples and nationalities.

It would be detrimental if we ourselves took away the authority from the Constitution, blaming it for the crisis, calling it high treason, as can be heard these days in Pristina, for in this way we reduce the resistance to those who do not bring anything new to the pluralist political territory and its structuring apart from hatred of everything that exists, revanchism, anticommunism, which is just the reverse of the same development and creative barreness as the one which was the result of the monopolistic position of the party in society in the past.

The fourth point refers to the fundamental and substantiated assessment of the essence of the developments thus far in Yugoslavia and in the LCY. The people obviously do not believe that they can realize their interests via the institutional network of the legal system and exert influence on events in society. This is why they are doing it outside this network. During these difficult times, the people cannot be denied the right to publicly express their dissatisfaction with the system, its institutions, and us who represent these institutions. However, we cannot agree with the abuse of this dissatisfaction knowing that revolt can be promoted in the street, but that it is not at all possible to articulate and promote the program of abolishing the causes of this dissatisfaction.

It is not possible to justify everything by the will of the people. Everyone has his own people and what happens when these people, as instruments in the carrying of specific policies, do not wish the same thing, do not have the same stands? What people will we dismiss then, and who will be the arbiter? I think that all this can only contribute to the further destabilization of society, and unstable circumstances will not serve our democratic ambitions. Rather, they will contribute to a great organized disorder which will soon help someone, as has been said in Zagreb, to introduce a great order. Doesn't this sufficiently indicate that we are not ready to agree to anything else but the most primitive forms of democracy, in which responsibility is the least clear thing but which are far more suitable for manipulation? This only foments hatred and leads to mutual account-settlings from Kosovo to Slovenia.

We do not have a mandate for such a practice, if this is going to become the practice of the LCY. These events are mainly brought about because of conflicts within the LCY, though I think we do not equally participate in them or bear responsibility for them. These are conflicts between leading communists. Because of the lack of readiness and inability to resolve these conflicts in a democratic way within the LC, as intraparty clean-ups, these conflicts become general social conflicts and as such destabilize and paralyze the entire system.

We communists do not have the right to project our disagreements o society or to paralyze the functioning of the state and block its functions, or to turn the LCY into the generator of the Yugoslav crisis. This is an unforgiveable sin against our people and society.

When we politicians are not ready or able to face our concepts and publicly discuss the differences, this then leads to obstructions. The subsequent poverty forces public clean-ups, first in the streets with slogans and then with arms. Despite all assurances by my comrades here that we must discuss the differences, I am convinced that we must above all establish the points that we actually still agree on. This is the consequence of a still strong link between the party and the executive authority. We should finally cut this link and separate the party from the state.

The state must function regardless of to what extent and how successfully we in the party solve our conflicts. There can be no legal state without it, no protection of human rights and nations and no normal life of society or functioning of its institutions. When they are not working there is an emergency situation which requires emergency measures.

Deep disagreements over the creation of the psychosis created by the emergency situations was presented prior to the 17th session. Since then, things have been stubbornly taking this direction. We are already living in an emergency situation. Before our very eyes and because of the will and activity of some parts of the LCY, a silent coup is under way which is slowly changing the picture and essence of the country. It is not just that the people are active from day to day in the streets. A different kind of Yugoslavia and a different kind of political system are being born. We Communists—members of the Slovene LC—do not wish to take part in the creation of such a political system and such a Yugoslavia. We will do all we can to end this madness and to take the legitimacy away from this tendency in the LCY. This is also what we are asking from this session.

Our commitment to the SFRY cannot be denied. We have no other state nor do we need one as long as we can live in this state as a sovereign nation and have the possibility—together with other nations and nationalities and on an equal footing—to democratically influence its essence and physiognomy. One cannot build a better society on hatred, lack of trust, by depriving others, or by asserting oneself at someone else's expense. We are ready to put commit all our efforts for such a project of coexistence, but we would like it to be a modern, civilized, European, socialist, self-managing and nonaligned country. Only on this condition will we, together with all progressive people and on an equal footing with them, be able to stop the destructive avalanche which is breaking up Yugoslavia. Only on these stands, in our opinion, can a program for the struggle of Yugoslavia be successfully based and the struggle be won, thus contributing to the democratic socialist renewal and development, as well as the renewal and development of every nation—with the understanding, of course, that a nation is truly sovereign if its individual members are free. This program should be that central issue and central point on which we should prepare and hold the 14th Congress of the LCY.

If you allow me just one political thought about the preparations the 14th Congress. I would disagree with my Comrade and friend Mutapcic, neither for principled nor for practical reasons—to hold first the federal and then the republican congresses. It is obvious that we here, discussing the renewal of the LCY, must discuss the question of what is the LCY and what is its federalization, and return to 1937 and the reasons why this same LC, that is the party, decided to found national parties. Thank you.

3d Day's Proceedings

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[LCY Central Committee Plenum-3d Day Proceedings—TANJUG headline]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 1 Feb (TANJUG)—After 2 days of debate at this party plenum, it is not clear why an extraordinary LCY congress is still being demanded, said Pero Skrlin, chairman of the LCY Supervisory Commission, who was one of the first participants in today's renewed debate at the 20th LCY Central Committee session.

The 3d day of the session of the highest party forum also began with a discussion on the main topic—the political situation in the country, relations in the LC, the work and responsibility of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium—issues already discussed by 76 members of the Central Committee.

Skrlin said that according to the debate so far, it appeared that everybody accepted decisions and conclusions of the first party conference and the LCY Central Committee session about the need to renew one-third of the Central Committee's members. The main reason for demanding an extraordinary congress is, as far as I can see, a replacement of the LCY Central Committee, despite the fact that its members are being changed through cadre renewal.

We have new LCY Central Committee members from the Vojvodina LC, and soon we will have them from the Montenegro and Kosovo LC's. The party grassroots in Serbia are satisfied with their leadership, and the Central Committees of Croatia Macedonia, and Slovenia, and part of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Central Committee are not even raising the issue of the responsibility of their LCY Central Committee members. Therefore, Skrlin emphasized, it is up to those who demand an extraordinary congress to consider whether their demands are justified.

We should embark immediately on preparations for the 14th congress, but not in a hasty manner, Skrlin concluded.

We are fighting successfully for unity within the Nonaligned Movement and the world community, but cannot achieve unity in our country, said Rade Glavic.

Dwelling mostly on Kosovo, he noted that the November events were the peak of the crisis in the province. The varying assessments of the protest meetings by the Albanians were followed by even deeper national divisions. I believe that the Communists were the organizers of these demonstrations because in those collectives in which they opposed the meetings, workers did not march out into the streets. Azem Vlasi did not act as a communist when he addressed the demonstrators, either. He should

have rejected the support expressed for him and insisted on respect for the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session, Glavic said.

It is a "tribute" to the Communists that the people of Kosovo were mislead about the changes to the Serbian SR Constitution. I am convinced that the Albanians in Kosovo favor Tito's Yugoslavia, but they have been manipulated. [transmission interrupted; TANJUG part 3 not received] [passage omitted]

Vojvodina has decided what it wants; it has decided on reform and democracy, said Biljana Mitrovic. By adopting the constitutional changes, Vojvodina has removed obstacles in Serbia, led by a desire to be a factor of stability in Serbia and Yugoslavia, and to take part in resolving problems through a search for the Yugoslav nucleus, without which there is no survival. Yugoslavia is in everybody's heart; not a disunited Yugoslavia, but a strong one.

Differences in the LC and society are legitimate, and we should build a democratic synthesis on them, said Milos Prosenc. He believes it important that the reforms not be stopped because they simultaneously prevent reverse processes.

Political pluralism is a reality, Prosenc noted, and it is something to which the first LCY Conference committed itself by advocating liberalization of initiative and the LC's nonmonopolistic and nonparty position. Whether political pluralism will breed parties, Prosenc stressed, is a question that depends on the transformation of the LC and on whether the people will recognize their own interests in the programs on offer.

Pointing out that the political pluralism is not just an episode, Prosenc warned of the negative consequences of emerging illusions that the party has been able to solve all problems, to see and know everything, to lecture, and to manage everything.

Referring to Vasil Tupurkovski's explanation about the "unprincipled coalition," Prosenc noted that one must differentiate between a democratic majority in the LC and principled or unprincipled coalition.

Assessing that the outcome of the voting at the 17th LCY Central Committee session did not infringe on the congress' decisions and directions, that the stances of the LCY conference and the responsibility of every member for their implementation were not negated, Prosenc concluded that the voting at the 17th session established a democratic majority rather than "unprincipled coalition." The Central Committee should have rejected these allegations in the very course of the 17th session, since the allegation concerning the "coalition" produced severe consequences. [passage omitted]

We must find answers at this session, Sabani said, to the allegations about the unprincipled coalition, because a great majority of this LCY Central Committee do not want to enjoy the company of those who are in this unprincipled coalition. Tupurkovski has explained it, but I am not satisfied with his explanation.

I think we have no time for maneuvering and compromises, Sabani continued, because a battle is being fought openly and clearly for the liquidation of this committee, its Presidium, and the president of the Presidium in accordance with the well-known scenario. One such scenario is being prepared for the state Presidency. This is pursued according to the familiar recipes and "in the name of the people," the people who are always spontaneous and never manipulated.

New scripts and settings are being prepared, then, Sabani said, but there are the other people who raise their voices in disagreement with such a setting. As a result of this, people are described as neither good nor just. This, then, introduces a thesis that classifies nations and nationalities. Yugoslavia does not need unity that is not founded on the equality of nations and nationalities, that favors and consolidates the position of the stronger nation.

A unity that is created at the demand of nations and nationalities which live freely and on an equal footing is needed. There is nothing wrong with the fact that the majority of speakers at yesterday's and Monday's debate spoke about Kosovo. I am wondering, he said, why none of the speakers could find the slightest reason for mentioning what has been done to stabilize the situation in the province. Yesterday, I heard some "experts" giving advice, but my impression is that these people do not know much about the situation.

We must realize that no one can remain shut up in his fortress while attacking and blaming everyone else. It is impossible for someone to be blamed for everything while someone else sits in judgment, only measuring and establishing the degree of guilt.

I want to stress that some gatherings teeming with the unacceptable are also regarded as democratic and in the spirit of brotherhood and unity, while some other gatherings are, a priori, labeled antirevolutionary and antisocialist. Can problems possibly be solved if the same things are measured by different standards, Sabani asked in conclusion?

Both Sabani now and Vrhovec last night spoke about monstrous allegations concerning an unprincipled coalition and called for an open dialogue on the issue, Stanislav Stojanovic said. I also spoke about the same problem and posed a number of questions that deserve answers. If we can, we should open a frank and honest dialogue about it, Stojanovic said.

In light of the large number of people who wanted to speak today, Petar Simic, who presided over today's session, drew the attention of Central Committee members to telegrams sent by the working people, who warn that the session should be nearing its end since any further prolongation costs a great deal of money.

Replying to Rade Glavic's remarks, Azem Vlasi said that he spoke at November's gatherings in Kosovo exclusively at the leadership's initiative and not his own, a fact known to both Sinan Hasani and Rahman Morina, who are present here today.

The situation was not such as to call for the usual speeches, Vlasi said. Tito and brotherhood and unity were hailed. and therefore it was necessary to address people in an appropriate manner and tell them that the tasks before the LC were best carried out at workplaces. [passage omitted] Djordje Scepanovic from Vojvodina asked to speak, but was not given permission. Yesterday he failed to gain enough votes to stay in the LCY Central Committee, and according to Petar Simic, did not qualify to speak in the debate. [passage omitted]

After Ivica Racan's explanation of the supplemented and improved draft conclusions on behalf of the working group of the LCY Central Presidium and on the basis of the discussion, there was a brief debate in which the dominant request referred to whether the conclusions should also include the initiative of Vojvodina's Communists for an extraordinary congress to be held, which was otherwise not contained in the first version.

After the brief debate, in which Stevan Santo, Tomislav Radovic, Sinisa Batalo, Stefan Korosec, Milomir Jakovljevic and Nedeljko Spiovac took part, the proposal by Jovo Ugrcic, chairman of the Statutory Commission, was accepted, whereby the LCY Central Committee should pass a decision on the holding of the extraordinary congress of the LCY within 3 months in accordance with the statute and on the basis of the demand of the Vojvodina LC extraordinary conference, on condition that the congress should be held by the end of 1989.

On the basis of the proposals submitted in the discussion, acceptance was expressed of the reformulation of the stands connected with activity of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, as well as the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee with regard to the realization of the conclusions of the 9th, 16th and 17th sessions on Kosovo, as well as the inclusion of the proposal on "support for every principled criticism based on arguments."

The LCY Central Committee also adopted three working conclusions which refer to the realization of the conclusions of the 20th session.

As it transpires from the 2 and ½ day discussion at the 20th session of the LCY Central Committee—in which about 100 LCY members took part—as well as from the words of Ivica Racan, who explained the text of the conclusions, they should have a mobilizing character, not only for the LCY Central Committee members and the Presidium, but also for the entire LCY membership. The accent in them is on overcoming the serious economic and political situation in Yugoslavia, on what brings us together and what divides us, but also on a resolute demand to overcome differences which are blocking the realization of the basic aim—improvement of the working class' position.

Patriotically oriented people and members of the LC rightly ask where this leadership is leading us to, the leadership which has lost the trust of the membership and people, and whether such a leadership can take us out of the crisis. The aims and interests of Yugoslavia's working class are united wherever workers live and work—this must be clear even to the hardened and enormous bureaucratic apparatus, stresses Mihajlo Pesic in his written speech. [passage omitted]

At the end of his written speech, Pesic concluded that the Presidium, such as it is, cannot achieve the needed unity.

A Presidium and a president that impose confrontations and quarrels as methods of work cannot remain at the top of the LCY. [Transmission interrupted, TANJUG part 20 not received] [passage omitted]

The Central Committee first set about voting on the soundness of the proposal of the Serbian LC Central Committee to relieve Kolj Siroka, Svetislav Dolasevic, and Azem Vlasi from membership in the LC.

The working group, formed at the LCY Central Committee session, judged that this initiative was well-founded, and proposed to the Central Committee that Siroka, Dolasevic and Vlasi be relieved of their duties.

The report of the working group, which consisted of Josip Bukovcan, Branka Obrenic, Borut Suklje, Mihajlo Milojevic, Stane Brovet, and Seniha Bulja was explained by its chairman, Krste Markovski. He said that only Borut Suklje failed to agree with the proposed measures adopted by the group. [passage omitted]

I do not understand how no one had any observations to make on the work of Vlasi, Siroka, and Dolasevic when they were in senior posts in the province, and when, at the end of each mandate, reports were adopted on the work of the organs of which they were the leaders, Ali Sabani said in the debate on the report of the working group. If something was not in order, why did we behave opportunistically?

Nor were there any objections to the work of Vlasi, Dolasevic, and Siroka when this Central Committee adopted the reports on the work of the LCY Central

Committee Presidium, Sabani added, also criticizing the working group for not saying anything about what these three had done while they were in high-ranking posts. [passage omitted]

In some mass gatherings there were also shouts of "we will kill Vlasi" or the slogan "Milos got Murat and we are going to get Vlasi." I am not aware that anyone has been called to account for this, or that there have been statements denouncing these slogans, Sabani observed. He also criticized the working group for not taking into account the stances of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, nor of the previous president of this Presidium on the work of Vlasi, Dolasevic and Siroka. At the end, Sabani invoked the judicial principle that it is better to free 100 guilty people than to condemn an innocent man.

In the debate on the responsibility of Siroka, Dolasevic and Vlasi, Mihajlo Milojevic explained that the working group of the Central Committee had the task of considering the soundness of the initiative of the Serbian LC to have them relieved from the LCY Central Committee. Members of the working group set about dealing with these problems concretely and comprehensively. Work took place democratically and in a responsible way, and the conclusion was reached that the initiative had a sound basis. [passage omitted]

In order to avoid, he said, disagreements and possible speculation, Borut Suklje tried to explain the reasons why he had divided opinion as a member of the working group. I did this because the methodology which conditions the work of this and similar working groups is not good, and the proposal was not based on the facts, Suklje said. Of course, he added, if the principle of objective responsibility is accepted, this would be something completely different, but I am unable to agree with such principles. [passage omitted]

Josip Bukovcan, member of the working group, said that it worked on the basis of the initiative of the Serbian LC Central Committee and the decision of the 17th LCY Central Committee session. The group worked about 10 days and was not always in its full set-up.

We soon agreed on the objective responsibility not only of Siroka, Dolasevic, and Vlasi, but also further, said Bukovcan. However, when their subjective responsibility was being assessed, there were long and thorough discussions. The meeting of the provincial committee was not held in normal conditions because Kacusa Jasari left her post.

Sanije Veselji thinks that Siroka, Dolasevic and Vlasi can be censured, but not to the degree to which it has been proposed. These are people who gave a great deal for Kosovo and whose work was not called into question until a year ago. [passage omitted]

After an interjection by Suvar, according to which what Markovski quoted were not insinuations if Vlasi said what he was quoted as saying, Vlasi took the floor in order to give an explanation.

Apart from the text read out by Markovski, Vlasi stated that it says on page 38 of the report: "It is significant that he said that every disagreement and excess in Kosovo are immediately connected with nationalist and separatist motives and goals, and that in this way a pathological inclination to hatred is attributed to the Albanian people, which was carried by the Albanian press."

I categorically reject such comparisons, stressed Vlasi.

In connection with quotations from the joint session of the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and the Serbian Presidency, Vlasi said that they were taken out of context and that he did not recognize them as such. [passage omitted]

On behalf of the Statutory Commission, Jovo Ugrcic pointed out the content of the LCY Central Committee articles which regulate questions of responsibility of the organs and members of the LC. He stressed that the decision to relieve its own member is passed by the Central Committee by means of secret ballot, while the working group, which is set up by the Central Committee, is obliged to obtain the opinion of the local republican, central, or provincial committee on the work of those against whom an initiative is launched for relieving them of their duties.

Noting that the provincial committee was obliged to submit its opinion on the work of Vlasi, Siroka, and Dolasevic, Suvar asked whether the Kosovo Provincial Committee did that. [passage omitted]

The Central Committee should vote on whether or not to accept the report of the working group, said Branka Obrenic, who demanded that every assessment be made responsibly and supported by arguments. [passage omitted]

Continuing the session, the LCY Central Committee adopted, with 13 votes against, the report of the working group for the reexamining of the grounds for the initiative of the Serbian LC Central Committee for the expulsion of Kolj Siroka, Svetislav Dolasevic and Azem Vlasi from the LCY Central Committee. In this way, in keeping with the statutory provisions, conditions were created for deciding on their expulsion from the membership of the highest party forum. This was followed by a secret ballot.

Meanwhile, prior to the announcement of the outcome of voting, Stipe Suvar told the Central Committee members that during the 3-day session of the 20th plenum, the highest party forum received 771 telegrams from

sociopolitical organizations, collectives, and individuals from the entire country. The majority of them supported the 20th plenum, although there were a lot of them containing criticism.

In connection with last night's statements by Josip Vrhovec on the meeting in Lovcenac, Suvar said that from this place in Vojvodina, a telegram was sent to the Central Committee today from the LC action conference and the local conference of the Socialist Alliance. The telegram, which Suvar read, stresses that all the sociopolitical organizations reject the meeting, assessing it as failed and unnecessary, and as having caused large damage to its residents. [passage omitted]

In his hour-long address, Munir Mesihovic rejected the findings of the working group about his accountability in the Agrokomerc scandal. He based his "defense" on the fact that his responsibility was identical to the responsibility of all the other members of the Presidency of Bosnia- Hercegovina. Commenting in detail—item by item—on the working group's conclusions, Mesihovic recalled a series of meetings in Bosnia-Hercegovina at the time when he was president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina SR Presidency and following the resignation of his membership in this forum. In connection with the initiative for examining his responsibility, he frequently mentioned Milan Uzelac, who was then president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium. He rejected any influence by Hamdija Pozderac and stressed that Pozderac never asked him for anything that could have been rendered either illegal or at odds with the LC's course. In the working group's report and conclusions, it is stated—among other things—that Mesihovic is in fact responsible for not correctly and expeditiously initiating the activities of the Presidency aimed at analyzing the causes and severe consequences of the Agrokomerc scandal, which has slowed down the overall efforts to uncover the scandal and of the eventual failure to introduce appropriate measures. [passage omitted]

The LCY Central Committee this evening set up a working group, which will examine whether the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee initiative for examining the responsibility of Mate Andric, Hrvoje Istuk, Milanko Renovica, and Nikola Stojanovic is justified.

The Central Committee has also set up a working group to establish the facts and circumstances stemming from a Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee initiative for relieving Petar Matic from the membership in the LCY Central Committee.

Under the conditions of a prolonged and deep crisis, growing discontent is understandable and inevitable, particularly among those elements of society which have suffered most from it, primarily workers and the youth, who express their discontent through mass public protests, strikes, and demonstrations. Their discontent is pointed at the LC as the vanguard, at the institutions of the system, and especially at the leadership. There has been no appropriate response in understanding warnings of this kind, nor have any lessons been learned from them, Vidoje Zarkovic said. He concluded that what happened in Montenegro was primarily the consequence of the overall situation in Yugoslavia, in addition to specific Montenegrin economic and social contradictions, which, fueled by the crisis, had become extremely exacerbated.

By saying this, I am not trying to minimize the negative impact of the lack of a resolute action by the leadership in such a situation, despite their great efforts in the struggle for economic and social stabilization and despite their shortcomings and mistakes for which they assume their responsibility—which they have not denied anyway. Neither do I want to minimize, Zarkovic said, the effects of organized actions of individuals and groups, supported by a part of the media, on what happened and particularly on the way it happened. We are constantly informed about this by the competent organs and services, so the LCY Central Committee should not, for the sake of truth and the protection of the system, let this pass by without reaction.

Neither should the LCY Central Committee overlook the fact that without prior discussions or assessments, some LCY Central Committee mem' rs were among the [protest meetings] organizing comm'tees and called for the resignation of their LCY Central committee Comrades without ever before having uttered a word of criticism at LCY sessions or having said anything privately to the very people whose resignation they were demanding. What will happen to the Central Committee if such practices continue, comrades? [passage omitted]

Some widely read magazines last summer launched the unprincipled practice of singling out by name in order to discredit me politically and morally, Zarkovic said. They did not use my deviation from LCY ideology and policy as a pretext. Quite the contrary, they used the fact that some people did not approve of my resolute standing on this policy, particularly when relations in the LCY and the intranational relations and struggle against nationalism are concerned.

I am convinced that the avalanche of numerous unfounded and discrediting criticism would have missed me had I been a silent witness of the growing demonstrations of nationalism; had I accepted the method of promoting one nationalism to overcome another nationalism and to solve social problems; had I ignored some assaults against the key principles of our socialist community; and had I not determinedly warned of the fatal consequences of the political and propaganda war being fought between individual parts of the LCY and our country and of the increasing abandonment of the principle of democratic centralism in the LCY. I have never and will never accept this. [passage omitted]

Unfortunately however, Zarkovic said, some LCY members have succumbed to nationalism and they are now riding the crest of the wave. Hence, they are appalled

only by certain nationalism and not by all of it. They are attempting to prove that drawing attention to nationalism weakens the unity of our peoples, although it is the nationalists who are the fiercest enemies of this unity. They equate the criticism of nationalism among their people with the criticism of the people themselves. That is why they avoid fighting nationalists in their own environment and would rather get them out of the shelters of their nation, where they love to find hiding places.

That is why they are not fighting persistently against increasingly pervasive tendencies toward national homogenization which are not only an attack on the achievments of the revolution, but a denial of everything that is democratic and progressive. Those espousing such tendencies often are the very proponents of this policy. This homogenization goes so far as to lead to such absurd situations in which even a sober warning that some individuals have exploited and are exploiting the people's justifiifed discontent with reviving the ghosts of the past in the form of pro-Cetnik [Serbian royalist wartime army] slogans, and songs etc, is seen as the attack on one's own people.

Certain LCY members dismiss the fact that Yugoslavia can only be firm and strong if it develops and grows as a federal community based on the principles of full national equality and on the political and social interests of the working class and other working strata of the society—that is, based on Tito's and AVNOJ's [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles. Every attack on these principles is simultaneously an attack on the revolution's most significant achievments and on our people's most essential interests, Zarkovic said.

In my opinion, a number of members of the LCY are not fighting with either determination or conviction, the so-called "national programs" which are sowing discord among our peoples, disintegrating our community, and which in their essence represent an open attack on the revolution's achievments. Instead, they are "criticizing" and labeling those, who as consistent communists, cast a light on this problem. [passage omitted]

Sinisa Batalo managed to say: I expected comrades who resigned to do so with slightly more dignity and say: we are leaving...; before being cut short by the shouts that there was no need for him to speak. Batalo left the rostrum. He was followed by Vukasin Micunovic, who protested that Batalo had not been allowed to finish what he had to say and voice his views. He asked the working presidium to maintain the forum's standards and added that the Central Committee should hear not just what it liked to hear but also what it disliked. Having noted that it was not the working presidium that prevented Batalo from speaking, Stefan Korosec, the presiding official, invited Batalo to the rostrum; the latter refused.

Micunovic then spoke. He said that he was convinced that by resigning, both Marko Orlandic and Vidoje Zarkovic had shown that they cared for the people despite what rumormongers—and not just them—were saying. If they did not respect the people, they would not have resigned, Micunovic repeated. [passage omitted]

In no way do I question the right of the people who gatherd at a protest meeting in Titograd on 10 and 11 January to call for my or anyone's resignation, Marko Orlandic said explaining why he had resigned as a member of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium. I did it to make the consolidation in the situation in Montenegro, in the Monenegro LC and—by implication—in the LCY that much easier. I also resigned for personal reasons, primarily to safeguard my moral and political integrity and my image as member of the LCY, Orlandic said.

According to him, the fact that he did not deny the people's right to call for his resignation in no way meant that he approved of all that was happening at protest gatherings, including those of last October and in January of this year. The last protest meeting in Titograd was directed by, as Orlandic put it, a special organizing committee in which, as we heard, an important part was played by a member of this Central Committee. But I must say, Orlandic said, that it would be in the spirit of democratic and moral traditions of both the Montenegrin people and the LCY, if the demands for resignations and replacements were accompanied by arguments and reasons for it. Instead, all we had was a demand for the resignations of members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium from Montenegro and of the Executive Secretary. Names were not mentioned, and there were no explanations, Orlandic noted.

I could not go to Titograd to face the people because I was in the hospital at that time. I wish to stress that I have never violated a single human, moral, material, or political principle for which the people and Communists of Montenegro have on several occasions shown trust in me. [passage omitted]

I cannot but draw attention to some strange methods which, obviously, had clear political motives. Since the end of the 1st day of the 17th LCY Session, I, my family, and even my friends have been subjected to a propaganda, pogrom- like campaign and systematic psychological pressures. What was the purpose of all this, Orlandic asked. He added that even on the event of the current session, his right to speak today was questioned by some sections of the information media. Is this the kind of alternative democracy we are being offered?

My well-publicized remarks about the speech by Milovan Popovic. LCY Central Committee member, during the 1st day of the 17th LCY session were made to the public as the reason. The details of what I said and my stand on it are known to you all. I only want to say how, in my own view, I presided over that part of the session

and reacted in a calm, principled, democratic way as prescribed by the statute. In this, I strictly adhered to a stand adopted by the LCY Central Committee presidium the night before the session that we should all do our utmost to ensure that the session proceeded in a constructive and working way and not to open the familiar polemics and quarrels which preceded the session.

Orlandic then analyzed the 20 October solidarity meeting in Kosovo Polje, saying that the LCY Central Committee Presidium was united in its request that he attend this meeting and speak in its name. The entire Presidium supported my speech, but I must say that it did not have the strength to draw the full conclusions from the political assessment. Some people used the 17th LCY Central Committee session and my participation in the so-called solidarity meeting in Kosovo Polje to proclaim me, overnight, as an ally of the Albanian separatists. [passage omitted]

It is interesting that so far no one has entered, nor is entering, into polemics over any of my stances on Kosovo. I am convinced, Orlandic said, that the attempt to discredit me began to be prepared earlier and that it was only awaiting a favorable moment, and that moment was the night of 7 October in Titograd when I clearly recognized the aggressive activity of a group of people, including those acting from positions of greater Serbian nationalism, who were not interested in the justified preoccupations of the vast majority of the people who had gathered there.

I energetically reject anyone's moral right, in any way whatsoever and without arguments, to bring my conscience and my responsibility into question over the issues of Kosovo, Montenegro, AVNOJ, Yugoslavia, LCY policy or other principles of our party, Orlandic concluded.

After Orlandic and Zarkovic's speeches, Milo Djukanovic replied to the observations concerning his allegedly dishonorable role in the events in Montenegro, saying that he had spoken only twice about these events among youth and in the SAWP. Also, he added, I was not a member of the organizing committee, not because I did not want to be, but because at that time I was not in Montenegro. I arrived there subsequently, he specified, and added that this does not mean that he would not have accepted membership in this committee, as for example, Milica Pejanovic had done, with the intention of assisting in its work. Surely communists have a place among 150,000 people. Djukanovic asked. [passage omitted]

Dusan Dragosavac drew attention to the fact that the Central Committee had received the resignations of several more of its members from Montenegro—all of them workers. I understand the dissatisfaction and anger toward people who have been in office for a long time, but what was the reason for these resignations, Dragosavac asked, requesting an explanation. He advocated that the Central Committee hold a secret ballot on the resignations of Zarkovic, Orlandic, and Filipovic.

Stefan Korosec explained, concerning the resignations, that according to the statute there is no voting on this. He recalled here that the Central Committee had expressed its view toward Marko Orlandic and Vidoje Zarkovic during the vote of confidence in the Presidium, at the 17th LCY Central Committee session.

Korosec said that the resignations are a moral act and that Orlandic and Zarkovic had submitted them honorably. He also said that one should wait for the complete analysis from the Montenegrin LC Central Committee, in which there will be an asessment—in much greater depth than has been performed by the LCY Central Committee Presidium—of the causes of the events in this republic. [passage omitted]

On behalf of the Presidium and the LCY Central Committee, Stipe Suvar expressed thanks [words indistinct] for their work. He stressed that Zarkovic and Orlandic are principled people who have followed Tito's line.

Stipe Suvar recalled that Zarkovic and Orlandic had made their resignations available to the Montenegrin LC Central Committee before the events in October, because they considered that they had already spent a long time in leadership positions. Vidoje Zarkovic has been a member of the LCY Central Committee in five mandates, he was president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium for 1 year, and twice he has been vice president of the SFRY Presidency. Marko Orlandic has been a member of the LCY Central Committee in three mandates, and he has held the most responsible posts in Montenegro for a long time.

Stipe Suvar observed at the end that in the last 6 months the three LCY Central committee presidium presidents with 1-year mandates have resigned, and the current president is also being asked to resign. We should draw lessons from this, he said.

Andjelko Kovacevic also took the floor and supported the initiative for the montenegrin LC Central Committee to prepare a comprehensive analysis of the events in this republic, but, he stressed, this does not relieve the LCY Central Committee of its responsibility.

In this debate, it is not a matter of people but of us in the LC and our mutual relations, Dragutin Dimitrovic believes. We have no arguments with the people, but we must ask ourselves whether the responsibility for the defeats is being correctly noted, given the obvious failure of a policy. [passage omitted]

The chairman then noted that Vidoje Zarkovic and Marko Orlandic, on the basis of their resignations, had given up office as members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and as members of the LCY Central Committee.

At the same time, in keeping with the criteria for cadre renewal, 15 LCY Central Committee members, including three members of the SFRY Presidency, were relieved of membership in the LCY Central Committee. In keeping with the principle of keeping party and state posts separate, the following people's LCY Central Committee membership was terminated: Branko Mikulic, Milomir Grbovic, Milutin Vukasinovic, Lazar Mojsov, Tosum Paljumi, Jovo Panajotovic, Trajko Prendzov Stane Dolanc, Marjan Orozen, and Sinan Hasani.

Rudi Kolak is no longer a member of the LCY Central Committee, because he has already been a member of the highest party forum five times.

At their personal request and for health and other reasons, Djuro Nemet, Dimitar Dimidzievski, Ivan Stojanovic, and Borisav Srebric were released from membership in the LCY Central Committee.

The resignations of members from the Montenegrin LC Central Committee will be considered at the next LCY Central Committee session, as the representative of this republican Central Committee provided the information that additional talks with all of them are pending as a result of the new circumstances. The miner Ahmet Mehovic, after a short speech, which was accompanied by applause, stood by his resignation.

Stipe Suvar, LCY Presidium president, expressed thanks to all the comrades who submitted their resignations from the membership of the highest Party forum, expressing the wish that they will continue their activity in the LCY.

After this, on behalf of the working group of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, Boris Muzevic read out the results of the voting on relieving four members of Central Committee membership. One of these people, Kolj Siroka, on the basis of the results of the voting, remains in the LCY Central Committee, while Azem Vlasi, Svetislav Dolasevic, and Munir Mesihovic were relieved of their duties.

Bogdan Trifunovic commented on the results of the voting, saying that they must provoke concern and disappointment. He wondered how the public would react to these results and how they would comprehend the difference between public and secret voting.

The 20th LCY Central Committee session ended late last night, after 2230 [2130 GMT].

Kucan Briefs 14th Division Veterans on Plenum

LD0402193889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1335 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 4 Feb (TANJUG)—In connection with observance of the 45th aniversary of the 14th Division's legendary march into Stajerska, that division's veterans met in the Yugoslav People's Army club in Ljubljana today for the traditional old comrades' meeting. During the meeting Milan Kucan, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia, spoke of the current sociopolitical situation, especially following the 20th session of the LCY Central Committee.

Referring to the historical significance of the 14th Division's march, Milan Kucan said that that division's history had a point of contact with the present time, both as a precursor and as a herald of the present efforts for progress, peace, and coexistence between the peoples and the people on our territory and as a call to an uprising against everybody who, invoking the defense of the achievements of the national liberation struggle and of the revolution in Yugoslavia, is arbitrarily trying to put a limit on the dimension of the freedom of man and the creative initiative of the people.

The 20th session of the LCY Central Committee, Kucan said, is one in a series of quests to devise common points of national agreement and equal coexistence of our nations and nationality. He added, however, that the session has undoubtedly placed quite a burden on the reputation of the LCY and on the confidence in it. The session has not brought about the necessary and hoped for relief and encouragement which were expected after the optimistic first public appearance by the new premier-designate. The LCY Central Committee, which at least in principle supports the reforms, market economy, and opening to the world, unfortunately failed explicitly to support the premier-designate's commitment, said Kucan. It has been obvious for a long time that the social crisis is deep-seated. After this session, which the public, according to Kucan, was experiencing as being some sort of an ideological revelation of Yugoslavia being split along the party line, it became obvious that the crisis is at its deepest precisely in the League of Communists.

The session has shown that there are several possible ways out of the crisis in the LC. The session also quite clearly revealed the differences in the way they actually exist. They are normal and legitimate. Perhaps the biggest success of the session is the very fact, says Kucan, that through the statements by the presidents of the republican and provincial organizations and by the president of the army organization of the LC, these differences have been legitimized at the session. Only now when these views have been publicly presented, with all their points of contact and all their differences, a principled and democratic, and creative and responsible policy has become a possibility. Now it would be a normal thing to make a demand, Kucan said, that these views of the possible ways out of the crisis and of future

development should be formulated as clearly and as specifically as possible. In this way alone would it be possible to speak about a synthesis of the LCY concept of a democratic integration of Yugoslavia as a socialist and federal state which should be brought into being by the LCY congress. In this context, Kucan said that it is superfluous to state that the responsibility for this synthesis and this project of the successful life together of our equal nations and nationalities happening is the same for all parts of Yugoslavia.

The differences which to many commentators of the 20th session of the LCY Central Committee appear to constitute the biggest danger—such as the lack of unity—are the condition for the LCY moving from apparent unity to genuine accord, which accord, unfortunately, cannot be obtained purely by making appeals to the people to carry out the policy laid down at the top. We are afraid of the differences, said Kucan, because obviously we are not yet ready to see in these differences and in the different practices based on them the possibility of comparing the experience and the results and initiative to bring about innovation and competitive creative effort throughout our society.

Having stressed that every republic and all republics together deserve the kind of state in which they will be able to live a life that is richer and freeer than if they did not have that state, Milan Kucan said that the efforts to attain this kind of concept of the life together could not be based on the conflict of political currents and factions within the party and in the state in order to gain dominance which is an idea now uncritically and generically accepted about this Central Committee session.

Milan Kucan also believes that the session has shown that the number of the points linking us together is much greater than it appeared at the time when differences were not permitted or at least were not desired, when monolythic unity ruled and when they could be used for all kinds of manipulation, including centralist and hegemonist manipulation.

Kucan pointed out that many stands in the discussion, in the introductory report and in the conclusions were identical with the stands of the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia. The session and the guidelines that were adopted, as well as the preparations for the congress, are an opportunity to strengthen the recognizable aspects of the Slovene LC, which advocates the need for a new definition of the socialist program and the need for democracy in the LC and in society and which seeks, upon these points of departure, democratic links in Yugoslavia on all the specific social projects strengthening the SFRY as an economically and socially successful community open to the world and as a community of equal nations and nationalities.

There is no real and objective reason why we should live in increasing poverty with a future that promises less and less and increasingly distances us from Europe, said Milan Kucan. In his view, in the battle for such a program and for such a Yugoslavia—and this was evident also at the 20th session—a majority of Yugoslavs want to take part. It has been shown, Kucan added, that social reforms are the issue that has to link us now, and already links us, together. The elimination of unacceptable poverty and of the stagnation as far as civilization is concerned is our paramount task and objective. The reforms should create the conditions for every person in which he will be able to work and to earn, to decide about the results of his work and have greater rights and possibilities of asserting his self-management initiative as a citizen. This requires and presupposes that greater political scope should be open for people's initiative and for organizing political and self-management social factors. At this stage of social development, said Kucan, political pluralism is a necessity and a fact clearly manifested at this session.

Times have long since passed when the party that saw, knew, and allowed everything and decided about everything was able to resolve all our common problems. By working for political pluralism, Kucan said, we are not giving up our social role, but that role can be given life only through democracy within the political system, in the competition of ideas and in the concrete programs of social action.

Having stressed that it is not the return to a multiparty society that is wanted, Kucan said that what is expected of political pluralism is above all more freedom for everyone, more right to differences than the parties can provide. Less struggle for power over the people and on behalf of the people is also expected.

The session has demonstrated that in view of the deep-seated crisis it is experiencing, the LC is one of the generators of Yugoslav social crisis. We support the withering away of the state party and of the party state, he said. At long last the state has to begin operating independently of what is happening inside the LC. It should become the authority of all the citizens; it should be under their control and not a power over them. Supervision of the work of the state and of its organs must be efficient and democratic—there is no state based on law without that.

Party divisions and confrontations do not have the right to block life in our society, do not have the right to cause and threaten emergency situations, interrupt the processes of the democratization of our society, or bring us even closer to poverty and to push us to the margins of civilization. The crisis of the ideas in which the LC has undoubtedly found itself sooner or later had to be shown as a crisis involving the people. It is a good thing for cadre changes to occur, but this does not apply to pogroms and purges where the people sitting in office armchairs are replaced while the alienated bureaucratic relations remain the same. It would be fatal to accept the well-known practice, said Kucan, whereby a man has been sentenced before he has been accused and before

his guilt has been proven, because it had already been decided. In this case the only significant question is: who does the replacing, and not for which reason someone has been replaced. This is why, according to Kucan, during the LCY Central Committee session the protest over the result of the secret vote on the dismissal of some Central Committee members seemed a threat to democracy. It is obvious, said Kucan, that only one road leads to democracy, and that is the democratic road.

In conclusion, Milan Kucan agreed that a critical attitude toward the 20th session of the LCY Central Committee was in place, at least as long as LC actions have such a crucial influence on our life. However, said Milan Kucan, it must be admitted that a political and ideological dialogue has started, and that differences have emerged, but so have possible points of contact.

Kosovo Miners Protest Vlasi Dismissal

LD0302183889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1735 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, February 3 (TANJUG)—About 400 miners of the Trepca lead and zinc mine of Stari [word indistinct] on Friday [3 February] staged four-hour protests against the decision by the 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum to relieve Azem Vlasi of his duty as member of the Central Committee and some of the statements in debate at the session.

Trepca miners today repeated the demands made during their protests in November, which turned into five days of demonstrations by members of the Albanian nationality throughout Kosovo Province.

They demanded that leader of the Yugoslav Communists Stipe Suvar, President of the League of Communists of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic, and senior provincial party officials Ali Sukrija and Rahmav Morina come among them.

The invitation to Milosevic stressed that if he can visit workers in factories in Serbia outside the provinces, he can also visit them because he is their party president as well, and has to listen to their problems.

Miners dispersed only after being promised that President of the Kosovo Provincial Party Conference Rahman Morina would visit them on Saturday [4 February].

A ban on all gatherings, imposed after the November demonstrations —also started by Trepca miners—is still in force in Kosovo.

Although miners today spoke of their difficult social conditions, their protests were directed mostly against what they described as equating the entire Albanian nationality with nationalists and irredenta.

Meetings Continue

AU0402213289 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Summary From Poor Reception] "A protest meeting was held today in Stari Trg because of certain trends in the country's latest LCY Central Committee Plenum. Rahman Morina, president of the Presidency of the Provincial LC Committee, and other provincial officials were among the miners."

As was indicated yesterday at the miners' center at Stari Trg, a meeting was held today at the Trepce mine at Stari Trg. At the meeting of more than 1,000 miners, primarily of the Albanian nationality, the arrival of provincial officials was met with some skepticism by some. "Rahman Morina was received with applause, but also by some whistling from the audience." The mine's director, who was received with frenetic applause, spoke about the history of Trepca, its problems, and its production results. One of the reasons for the miners' meeting is "their dissatisfaction with the proceedings and epilogue of the 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum, as well as the nonfulfillment of the promise given in November last year that Stipe Suvar, president of the Presidency of the LCY Central Committee, would come to Trepce, together with Slobodan Milosevic and Ali Sukrija."

One of the officials who addressed the meeting criticized the media's reporting on events in Kosovo. Other speakers expressed their anger and dissatisfaction at the fact that participants at last November's rallies in Kosovo were branded. "One speaker stated that Albanians are in favor of reforms and changes, but not in favor of reforms and changes that would turn the clock 20 years behind, would assimilate them, and liquidate their equal status. These statements were accompanied by fervent applause."

Other speakers took up the matter of Ali Sukrija's stand at the 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum, "when he supported the changes in the Kosovo leadership. Most of them stated that Ali Sukrija should not lose the trust of the workers of Trepca and Titova Mitrovica." Some speakers criticized Slobodan Milosevic. "Assessing Rahman Morina's political activity, some of the speakers criticized his stand at the 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum, particularly his evaluation of the November demonstrations and rallies. Rahman Morina was told that he had not received any support for his election as president of the Presidency of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, while some speakers insisted that the newly elected Kosovo leadership should resign."

"The atmosphere was electrified and there was much applause and ovations for Tito and the party. Dissatisfaction was also expressed for the absence of Stipe Suvar, Slobodan Milosevic, and Alia Sukrija." Aziz Abrashi called on the workers to maintain their dignity and not to label those of the SFRY leadership who were not present.

Addressing the meeting, Rahman Morina said that it was possible to overcome the crisis in Kosovo, primarily through the consistent implementation of the tasks set, adding that the workers class can only express its policy through Socialist Yugoslavia. "All of you," he went on to say, "are aware that intranational relations are worsening, that activity from the position of Albanian nationalism is present in our midst, that emigration is continuing, that young people find it difficult to find employment, that productivity is not increasing with the required dynamism, that the indoctrination of people over a number of years is not being eradicated as rapidly as possible, that living standards are dropping, and so forth." "Our greatest and most important interests," Rahman Morina said, "are clear: They are peace, freedom for all, higher living standards, and a better life."

Rahman Morina went on to say that the miners of Trepca never allowed nationalism to infiltrate their ranks and that they were among the most progressive people in Yugoslavia, and must continue to be so in the future. "Speaking about constitutional changes, Rahman Morina said that some very dangerous political insinuations have been made, including allegations that the autonomy of the provinces will be abolished, that the rights of the nationalities would be lost, that the incomes of the organizations of associated labor would be endangered, that the languages of the various nationalities would be abolished, and so forth." As a result of constitutional changes, Rahman Morina, concluded, the fact is that the province of Kosovo, Serbia, and all of Yugoslavia would become stronger; the constitutional changes would benefit all nationalities living in a free and self-managed Yugoslavia.

A protest meeting was also held in Suva Reka by the workers of the rubber factory Balkan, who expressed dissatisfaction with the proceedings and decisions of the LCY Central Committee Plenum. One speaker condemned the fact that for many years now the Albanian nationality has been under attack and been labeled with the most barbarous attributes, such as "genocide, terror, and the like." Many workers reacted indignantly at the labeling of the November demonstrations by Albanians in Kosovo as a continuation of the 1981 counterrevolution or that the Albanian workers have supposedly been manipulated by the enemy, while other rallies held last year were assessed differently. Some speakers expressed their dissatisfaction with recent cadre changes. The meeting addressed a telegram to the leaderships of the LCY, the Serbian LC, and the Kosovo LC.